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ONS,

IN.

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3.13

Remember thee?

Ye, from the Table of my Memory,
He wipe away all triviall fond Records,
All sawes of bookes, all formes, all prestures past,
That youth and observation coppied there I,

And thy Commandment all alone shall live
Within the booke and Volume of my braine.

Vnixt with baser matter; ~~yes~~ yes, by heaven:

Oh most pernicious woman!

Oh Villaine, Villaine, smiling-damned Villaine!

My Tables, my Tables: meet it is I fet it downe,

That one may smile, and smile and be a Villaine;

At least I'm sure it may be so in Denmarke!

So Vnckle, here you ate: now to my word:

It is; Adue, Remember me: I have sworn't.

Hor. & Mar. within. My Lord, my Lord!

Enter Hamlet and Marcellus (low in distance)

Mar. Lord Hamlet!

Hor. Heaven secure him.

Mar. So be it.

Hor. Illo, ho, ho, my Lord!

Ham. Hillo, ho, ho, boy: comebird, come.

Mar. How is't, my Noble Lord?

Hor. Whatnewes, my Lord?

Ham. Oh wonderfull!

Hor. Good my Lord, tell it.

Ham. No you'll reveale it.

Enter

ME
5527
Y

THE
SHAKSPEARE FABRICATIONS,

OR,

THE MS. NOTES OF THE PERKINS FOLIO
SHOWN TO BE OF RECENT ORIGIN.

WITH AN APPENDIX ON THE AUTHORSHIP OF

THE IRELAND FORGERIES.

BY

C. MANSFIELD INGLEBY, ESQ., LL.D.

OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

"Have you heard the argument? Is there no
offence in 't?"

Hamlet.

126598
4.3.13

LONDON:
JOHN RUSSELL SMITH,
36, SOHO SQUARE.

M.DCCC.LIX.

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2951
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~~~~~  
LONDON:  
PRINTED BY F. PICKTON,  
PERRY'S PLACE, 29, OXFORD STREET.  
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INSCRIBED

TO

ANDREW EDMUND BRAE, ESQ.,

WHO FIRST PUBLICLY PROTESTED AGAINST THE ADOPTION OF

THE MOST SPECIOUS OF THE MS. READINGS

OF THE

PERKINS FOLIO,

AND

WHO FIRST, BY A PHILOLOGICAL PROCESS,

DISCOVERED AND PROVED

THAT THEY WERE

MODERN FABRICATIONS.



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P R E F A C E.

IN the following pages, I have anxiously endeavoured not to transgress the limits of legitimate literary criticism. On the one hand, I have simply stated facts within my own knowledge. Of these, some concern merely the genuineness or authenticity of the MS. notes in the "corrected folio of 1632," while others relate to Mr. Collier's acts or defaults in reference thereto. On the other hand, I have stated unequivocally the probable inferences from both classes of facts, without taking into consideration the weight of Mr. Collier's private character. With his friends that element may outweigh all other considerations. But the public know nothing of that but by hearsay; and even if Mr. Collier be, as I trust he is, incapable of a dishonorable act, the public, who judge of his character by his public acts, are still entitled to some other answer

than the affidavit of the suspected person, and the iteration of Lord Campbell's opinion of that gentleman's veracity. Let me illustrate this by one example. I have stated certain facts which raise a strong suspicion that the Perkins folio received two MS. emendations, and that it lost a MS. stage-direction, in the year 1852: *i.e.*, while the folio was in Mr. Collier's possession. Now, I do not pretend to say that he is necessarily answerable for these facts (if facts they be), but for certain reasons the suspicion cleaves to him: as thus:—He alleges that he purchased the Perkins folio for 30s. of Mr. Rodd, in the spring of 1849, the parcel in which it arrived being then opened in his presence. Now, Mr. Rodd was a man who knew the value of such books, and was not a likely person to sell a book for less than its value; yet the Perkins folio, without the prestige of a single old note, defective as it is, was worth £3 of any man's money. But in 1849 the folio must have been in a more perfect condition than at present; for many of the leaves appear to have been *very recently* mutilated, probably with the object of getting rid of bad notes, or of destroying all traces of unsuccessful erasures. Then elapses a period of between two and three years, during which, we are

told by Mr. Collier that the folio lay *upon an upper shelf* unexamined; not unopened, because he tells us (*Notes and Emendations*, Introduction to 1st ed. p. 7), that he bought the folio to “complete another poor copy of the second folio”; but that, on taking it home, it appeared that the two leaves which he wanted were unfit for his purpose: not merely by being too short, but damaged and defaced; and that, being thus disappointed, he threw it by, and did not see it again until he made a selection of books to take with him when he quitted London. It is strange that any one, much less a man accustomed to old books, could have so much as opened this folio without observing that it was crammed choke-full of notes. But let that pass; Mr. Collier describes the volume as *much cropped*, the cover old and greasy, and imperfect at the beginning and end. It is, of course, a matter of opinion what “much cropped” means. I should not describe the Perkins folio in these terms; and it is certainly the first time I ever heard a book-collector object to an old book on the ground that its cover was *old*! But let that pass; Mr. Collier tells us (*Notes and Emendations*, Introduction to 1st ed. p. 1), that “all the preliminary matter, consisting of dedication, address, commenda-

tory verses, &c., may be said to be wanting, inasmuch as it has been supplied by a comparatively recent possessor from another copy of the second folio, and loosely fastened within the cover." To this I simply reply, that no part whatever of the volume, as it at present stands, has ever belonged to any other copy, which a mere inspection of the paper by a competent person will prove.

In whatever state the volume might have been when Mr. Collier acquired it, it was not till the month of May, 1852, that he made the public aware of his discovery. During the intervening period of between two and three years, Mr. Rodd died; and his accounts, it is said, show no trace of the sale and purchase of the folio.

Then follow in sad succession that series of works edited by Mr. Collier, by which he alone has made capital; and by which Shakspeare—but not Shakspeare alone—nay, the history of the English language—has suffered foul corruption. Perhaps the circumstance that weighs most with the public against allowing Mr. Collier's reputation for truth and honour to answer the suspicion I have mentioned, is this: that since the alleged discovery of the folio, Mr. Collier has systematically traded upon the MS. notes in such a manner as to lead

to the conclusion that he regarded the text of Shakspeare in no higher a light than as a pecuniary speculation.

That in Mr. Collier the trading spirit had mastered his respect for Shakspeare, is shown by the following considerations:—

Up to the time of the alleged discovery of the Perkins folio, Mr. Collier's editorial principle was, "that the old copies should be implicitly followed, wherever the words imputed to our poet on such authority could be reconciled with even a plausible meaning." (*Seven Lectures*, Preface, p. 69.) In submission to this principle, Mr. Collier, in his edition of 1844, rejected many hundred readings which in his *Notes and Emendations* he adopts with approbation. To take one instance: Mr. Collier, in his edition of 1844, adhered to the text of the old copy of 2 Henry IV. act iii. sc. 1, in the line

With deafening clamours in the slippery *clouds*;

and he justifies that adherence in *Notes and Queries*, 1st Series, vol. i. p. 58, on the ground "that not a single old copy warrants the merely fanciful emendation, and that it is not at all required by the sense of the passage." In this line the word which

it had been proposed to substitute for "clouds" was *shrouds*, a change which I should have thought would have recommended itself to Mr. Collier's common sense and good taste. He writes, "Where the fitness of a change of text is self-evident, who can resist it? I am only anxious," he continues, "to be right; and in determining what is right, I shall never refuse to be guided by good taste, sound sense, right knowledge, or well-instructed experience." (*Seven Lectures*, Preface, page 69.) I am bound to believe, then, that in rejecting *shrouds*, he did so because *the fitness of the change was not to him self-evident*. But when Mr. Collier found that this very change had been made in the margin of his corrected folio 1632, he unhesitatingly adopted it, and tells us (*Notes and Emendations*, 1st edition, p. 247), "This emendation may serve to settle the question." What was it then, I ask, that made Mr. Collier accept an emendation in 1853, which he had strenuously rejected in 1849? Was it the authority of the MS. notes of the Perkins folio? Not a bit of it; for Mr. Collier himself tells us retrospectively and prospectively that he does not accept that authority: for he says, "I am more and more convinced that most of his [the "Old Corrector's"] changes were derived from

recitations on the stage anterior to the suppression of the theatres," and that "he inserted what he considered emendations, but what we must look upon as innovations—changes which had crept in from time to time to make sense out of difficult passages, but which *do not represent the authentic text of Shakspeare.*" (*Seven Lectures*, Preface, p. 82.) It is obvious, then, that the reason why Mr. Collier swallowed wholesale, in 1853, and to a great extent adopted in 1858,¹ emendations which he strained at or totally rejected in 1844, is, not that at the latter period they appeared more expedient, not that they came recommended by authority, but simply that *he had changed his point of view*—that he had sunk the critic in the trader.

Now, let us follow Mr. Collier in the use he made of the Perkins MS. notes for the purpose of "raising the wind."

The years 1852-3 witnessed two editions of that atrocious volume, *Notes and Emendations*.² The two editions, however, are identical up to p. 200. The first edition was quickly followed up with the "*mono-volume*" *Shakespeare*, in which the MS.

¹ In the edition of 1858, he repents of his acceptance of *shrouds*, and prints "clouds."

² The two editions, however, are identical up to p. 200.

*shows h
none*

notes were indiscriminately installed in the text without any distinctive marks, and the work was introduced by a title-page, which disingenuously stated its contents. In 1856, the *Notes and Emendations* were published in a tabular form; and in 1858 appeared Mr. Collier's six-volume *Edition of Shakspeare*, incorporating the great bulk of the MS. alterations, enforced by notes which are as inaccurate as they are tasteless. In the mean time the Perkins folio passed into the possession of the late Duke of Devonshire.

It is plain, then, that the public cannot be blamed if they associate, however wrongfully, the fabrication of the Perkins notes with so evident a literary speculator. Surely something is due to the outraged memory of that Bard who wrote for all time, and whose works, jointly with the English Bible, form the main fountain of pure idiomatic English.

My thanks are due to his Grace the Duke of Devonshire for the permission to take a most interesting facsimile of a portion of the MS. corrections, and to Sir Frederick Madden, for his kindness in superintending its execution. The facsimile, as a faithful representation of the original, reflects great credit on the artistic powers of Mr. Frederick Netherclift: at the same time it is but right to add,

that it is impossible by lithography to give the exact appearance of some of the writing: for instance, the direction *lower down*, the line under "come bird come," and the stage direction *enter*, are all three written in dark ink, painted over with dirt ink, probably to give the writing an ancient appearance, and the two inks are separable under the magnifier. The *ious*, which protrudes from under *perfidious*, is a portion of the same word written in pencil, partly under the ink of that interpolation, the pencil word being in a very modern handwriting. The (*Wri g*) exhibits the restored portion of an erased word, which was once written in ink. It has, however, faded again (though not so much as to become altogether invisible), since the application of the hydrosulphate of ammonia, that chemical not having had the effect on the erased word which it has in the case of an erasure of writing with common ink. This consideration shows that the word in question was written with a peculiar ink, probably one manufactured for the express object of imitating the hue of faded writing.

My obligations to other gentlemen are acknowledged in the course of the book.

I must add, that with the exceptions of the latter portion of the Introduction, and of nearly the

whole of Chapters V. and VIII., and a few slight additions made in other parts while the sheets were going through the press, this work was written and in the publisher's hands before the appearance of Mr. Hamilton's letter in the *Times* of July 2.

C. M. I.

BIRMINGHAM,
July, 1859.



INTRODUCTION.

ERRATA.

- Preface, p. xiii. *erase* "The" in line 4 from the bottom, and the whole of line 3 from the bottom.
- Page 2, line 4 from bottom, *for* "nineteenth" *read* "eighteenth."
- Page 15, line 23 from top, *dele* apostrophe.
- Page 17, line 9 from top, *for* "two" *read* "three."
- Page 25, line 5 from top, after "p." *insert* "44."
- Page 39, note, immediately before "Answer" *insert* (") and after "sickness" *dele* (").
- Page 56, line 5 from top, *for* "April" *read* "August."

— — — — — Those doubts soon took the form of conviction, not only that their authenticity was impossible, but that their genuineness was highly improbable. In various notes contributed by me to *Notes and Queries*, I endeavoured to combat their authenticity, and so to aid in checking that popular mania which for three years threatened permanently to corrupt the text of Shakspeare, by accepting as authentic every tasteless and incon-

whole of Chapters V. and VIII., and a few slight additions made in other parts while the sheets were going through the press, this work was written and in the publisher's hands before the appearance of Mr. Hamilton's letter in the *Times* of July 2.

G M T

INTRODUCTION.

Τὸ κακὸν δοκεῖν ποτ' ἐσθλὸν
Τῷδ' ἔμμεν, ὅτψ φρένας
Θεὸς ἄγει πρὸς ἄταν·
πράσσειν δ' ὀλιγοστὸν χρόνον ἐκτὸς ἄτας.

ANTIGONE.

BASE INSINUATIONS.

FROM the publication of the first edition of Mr. Collier's *Notes and Emendations*, I entertained grave doubts on the subject of the authenticity of the MS. annotations of Mr. Collier's "Corrected Folio." Those doubts soon took the form of conviction, not only that their authenticity was impossible, but that their genuineness was highly improbable. In various notes contributed by me to *Notes and Queries*, I endeavoured to combat their authenticity, and so to aid in checking that popular mania which for three years threatened permanently to corrupt the text of Shakspeare, by accepting as authentic every tasteless and incon-

gruous alteration to which Mr. Collier had a mind to stand sponsor.

On November 24, 1856, I delivered a lecture to the Members of the Birmingham Midland Institute, which was fully reported in the *Birmingham Journal* of the following Saturday. I am there correctly reported as having said, that I "held that the Perkins emendations were fabrications, and that in adopting them Mr. Collier had been a dupe. He had been duped in the case of the *Bridgwater Manuscripts*; and, though he was an honorable man, his judgment had been swamped, so that he could not tell genuine matter from spurious." In the discussion that followed the address, the talented author of the *Poet's Garden of Pleasaunce* is reported to have said that "he did not at all agree with him (the lecturer) respecting Mr. Collier's adoption of the Perkins emendations. He could see no object in it. The work was sold almost accidentally to Mr. Collier for 30s., and it was inconsistent to think it would have been worth any one's while to have gone through thirty-seven¹ plays of Shakspeare, suggesting notes and emendations, and to sell [the volume] for 30s." Of course the only answer to this argument, was one which I did not then feel justified in making.

In the whole scope of Shakspearian literature, I know nothing so noble, so touching, as the spectacle

¹ There are, in fact, but thirty-six plays in the Perkins folio.

of the aged and venerable Singer, the friend of Douce, the last link between the commentators of the eighteenth century and those of the nineteenth, dedicating his expiring energies to the task of vindicating Shakspeare from the corruptions of the Perkins folio. In the preface to this "last fruit of an old tree," Mr. Singer—glorious in that old age which to some extent had unfitted him for the efficient discharge of his self-imposed duty, tells us—"I have been impelled to this ungrateful and wearisome task of exposing the little claim Mr. Collier's volume has to be considered an important accession to the means of correcting the text of our great poet; and at the same time pointing out the mischief which might arise from reliance upon the claim set up for it, from a sense of duty, and of heartfelt gratitude to that 'myriad-minded' being, whose magic pages have been the delight of my youth, and the solace of my declining years; of whose transcendent productions it may be said in his own words, 'age cannot wither, nor custom stale the infinite variety.' And I feel assured, that if I have succeeded in removing a few of the spots which threatened to obscure his radiant language, my time will not be misspent." Well said, and as well done too, as the old man's failing judgment would allow. He has earned the gratitude of all who loved and honored Shakspeare as he did. An appalling contrast it is to turn to any of Mr. Collier's later

works, where we find nothing but a steady devotion to the one object of prostituting the "radiant language" of the Bard to the tinkering of an ignorant and probably mercenary impostor!

The late Mr. Singer was a plain-spoken man. He said what he thought, and put his name to it. He did not scruple to insinuate that Mr. Thomas Perkins and Mr. J. Payne Collier were but two persons in one critic. "Wherever Mr. Collier has thrown out a suggestion of a reading for which 'authority' is wanting to introduce it into the text, the Corrector has a most wonderful sympathy with him, and comes to his aid. Were these coincidences only occasional, we might think them possible, but when they occur on all occasions, we cannot conceive them altogether fortuitous; the doctrine of probabilities is entirely opposed to such happy concurrence on all occasions!"—*Shakspeare Vindicated*, p.146. Excusing the inelegance of the phraseology, I must say I admire a man who can thus, like Mark Antony, permit his common sense to rule his judgment, unswayed by the constantly recurring reflection, "that Brutus is an honorable man." Let the evidence by all means have its weight, as it would undoubtedly have in the case of a man who was not as favorably known to the world as Mr. Collier. If Brutus is an honorable man (as I trust he is), "so are they all, all honorable men, whose daggers have stabb'd Cæsar." Yet

by all means let us avenge any insult or indignity which has been offered to our Cæsar; his integrity is of more value in our eyes than the reputation of all the critics and editors that have ever lived. I do not say that Mr. Collier's reputation will suffer in the long-run, but that we cannot allow *the fear lest it should so suffer* to be any impediment in the way of thoroughly sifting the evidence that is admissible on the subject of the origin of the Perkins emendations, or of the publication of a *primâ facie* case.

Besides publishing his *Shakspeare Vindicated*, Mr. Singer contributed an able letter on the same subject to the *Literary Gazette* for 1856, p. 951, which he concludes with the following remarkable words:—

“ My opinion about the corrected folio of 1632, and Mr. Collier's conduct in regard to it, are before the world. Mr. Collier assumes it to be genuine, but he has elsewhere printed as genuine and authentic, documents respecting Shakspeare which other and competent judges have pronounced to be spurious, and therefore his opinion is not to be implicitly relied on in a case which I have shown to be fraught with suspicion. What I have done and said was prompted by a love of Shakspeare and of truth, and a dislike of dogmatic assumption. I rejoice in the course I took, and it will be a consolation to me to my dying day, and I feel assured,

although I may not live to see it, that ‘Time will unfold what plighted cunning hides.’” This prediction is fulfilled. Plighted cunning can now no longer veil the truth. The fabrication of the MS. notes is now put beyond a question; but the old man, as he himself surmised, has not lived to see it.

Requiescat in pace. The task of vindicating his beloved Shakspeare has devolved on younger brains; yet to some extent it will be necessary to adopt the same basis of operations as Mr. Singer did. His case rested on two facts:—1st, That the alterations made by Mr. Perkins in the text of Shakspeare are generally bad in taste, and often such as show that he was unacquainted with the phraseology and idioms of Shakspeare’s day; and 2ndly, That there are too many “coincidences” between Mr. Collier’s suggestions and Mr. Perkins’ notes, to allow the inference that these coincidences were accidental.

I have given (Chaps. I. and V.) examples of both these positions, the majority of which were not adduced by Mr. Singer.

A more formidable opponent than Mr. Singer (though an anonymous one), appeared in the person of “A Detective,” who in 1855 put forth a pamphlet entitled *Literary Cookery*, wherein Mr. Collier’s reputation is not very tenderly handled. The object of that publication was to fix Mr. Collier with the fabrication of the *Seven Lectures on Shakspeare and Milton*, yet with an ulterior object.

“But it must not be imagined,” writes the Detective, “that all this trouble would have been taken merely for the purpose of proving that Mr. Collier must have tampered with the Coleridge prospectus. Certainly not: the object in view is far higher and more important. It is to rescue the outraged spirit of Shakspeare from the incubus of those marginal corrections, which to the shame of the nineteenth century have been permitted, like the unclean birds of old, to settle down upon his text, tearing and mangling and befouling where they could not destroy. There is a strong family likeness between the *discovery* of these marginal corrections and the *find* of the Coleridge notes; but, unfortunately for the ends of justice, the edge-tool of chronology was not meddled with in the former case, so that the same sort of direct proof could not be brought against it as is now shown to be so fatally damaging to the *Notes*. There are some persons whose minds are so constituted, that nothing short of direct and undeniable proof of dishonesty in the witness, will induce to admit the possibility of his deceiving them—the more especially if the witness be what is considered ‘competent authority.’

“The presumption—the plagiarism—the vulgarity—the imbecility—of those wretched libels on the text of Shakspeare, were as nothing to convince of their imposture; but had the prestige of

their sponsor been less—had they really been dependent solely on their own merits—they would have been at once cried to scorn.

“To dispel that prestige by laying bare the taint of CONTRIVANCE, is the real object of this exposure: if the scent now opened be effectively followed up, it may, perhaps, at length extort a second confession, similar to Ireland’s, of Shakspearian forgeries.”—*Literary Cookery*, p. 7.

The simplicity of “A Detective” excites my admiration, that he should suppose that the *Athenæum*, who had been the first to “stamp the leasing” with the currency of its approval, would make a feast off its own words! This reminds us of Mr. Arrowsmith, who expected *Notes and Queries* to insert in its columns a stricture on a friend of the Editor! A likely thing, indeed, that truth is to prevail over interest and friendship! No: for the detection of imposture and the vindication of truth it is necessary “to go to the country.”

On “Detective’s” remarks I must observe—

1st. That though the edge-tool of chronology was not meddled with by the “Old Corrector,” or rather, the modern concocter, yet that notwithstanding, a direct proof *can* be brought against it fully as damaging as the chronological test of *Literary Cookery*.

2ndly. That if any confession is to be extorted as to the source and concoction of the “marginal

corrections," it should be something more trustworthy than those of W. H. Ireland, which was nothing but a commercial speculation. (See Appendix I.)

Detective's MS. was of course declined by the *Athenæum*. Their conclusive reply was to this effect: "The insertion of the year within a parenthesis is a clear intimation that it was *not* printed on the document from which the writer was copying." This reminds me of a similar reply of the *Times*. They had published a leader with an alleged extract from a speech of Kossuth—that supposed extract being marked with notes of quotation. Kossuth complained that the words included in inverted commas were not the exact words of his speech. The *Times* (May 30th, 1859) rejoined that no person familiar with the English language would for one moment suppose that the words in inverted commas were *verbatim* from the speech.

So formidable and damaging was the attack of the author of *Literary Cookery*, that Mr. Collier thought it desirable to apply to the Queen's Bench for a rule against the publisher of that pamphlet: not that he meant to challenge a public investigation, but that his friend the Lord Chief Justice of England might publicly say, *five* times over, that Mr. Collier by his affidavit had cleared himself in a most satisfactory manner! If, however, the rule were refused on the ground that the Chief Justice

thought Mr. Collier's character above suspicion, it was verily the oddest reason that could be assigned for not giving the aggrieved party the opportunity of redress. Besides, what an encouragement is here given to the notorious Colonel Waugh, who has been lately threatening the *Times* with a criminal information *as soon as he comes to England!* If he should follow up his threat of applying to the Queen's Bench for a rule, it will probably be refused, and Colonel Waugh and his friends can give the same highly ingenious reason for discontinuing proceedings. Whatever were the grounds, however, on which the rule in "*Reg. v. J. Russell Smith, on the prosecution of J. Payne Collier,*" was refused, it was plain that Mr. Collier had no intention of pushing matters to an extremity. After the rule had been refused, it turned out that Mr. Collier's affidavit had not been put on the file. Nor does it appear that this omission would ever have been supplied, had not his solicitor happily acquired the knowledge that it was the practice of the court for affidavits to be filed, even though the application had been unsuccessful! The omission of Mr. Collier to file the affidavit excited, at the time, no little suspicion; but throughout his dealings with the Perkins emendations and their assailants, he seems to have been doomed by some evil genius to be the centre of "base insinuations," and at every turn

to have done or omitted something to foster them.¹ A lull, however, took place in the assaults on Messrs. Perkins and Collier, which was suddenly terminated by the temporary deposit of the Perkins folio in the MS. Department of the British Museum. The folio having undergone a preliminary examination, both chemical and optical, by Sir Frederick Madden, that accomplished palæographer made several remarkable discoveries, which irrefragably established the fact that the Perkins notes were a very modern fabrication. Subsequently, Mr. N. E. S. A. Hamilton, of the MS. Department of the British Museum, having examined the folio for himself, communicated in general terms, the circumstances to the *Times*; and his letter (which I have given in Chap. VIII.) appeared in the *Times* of July 2. After stating the fact of an immense number of erasures and obliterations being evident

¹ In the Introduction to the *Seven Lectures on Shakspeare and Milton*, Mr. Collier, there quoting from his diary, adds *the names of the days of the week!* and these names are *scrupulously correct to the year 1811!* But in the communication to *Notes and Queries* there was not one single date accompanied with the name of the day. Then, at page xiv of the Introduction, he says, "My first note, in which Coleridge is mentioned, bears date on the 13th of October, as I presume, 1811; but I am without any guide to the year;" and then follows "Sunday, 13th Oct.!" Was not this a guide to the year? Was it on the MS. when first communicated to *Notes and Queries*? If so, why was it not *then* furnished? In *Notes and Queries* it was "the date is 13th Oct., 1812." *Omnia exeunt in mysteria.*

on the margin of the folio, Mr. Hamilton adds, "Examples of these accompany this letter, and I shall be surprised if, in the hands of Shakspearian critics, they do not furnish a clue to the real history of the Corrector and his corrections." Having myself gone over a great number of these cases, and compared the various pen and pencil writing in the folio, I can corroborate Mr. Hamilton's statement. My own view of the case is given in Chap. VIII.

Mr. Collier published a rejoinder in the *Times* of July 7, 1859. This I have given *in extenso* in Chap. VIII. I will only say, in this place, that it is by far the most unsatisfactory defence that an accused or suspected person ever ventured to put forth; and contains several demonstrable mis-statements.

In the *Times* of July 16th, appeared a letter from Mr. Maskelyne, the Keeper of the Mineral Department of the British Museum, on the physical aspects of the Perkins fabrications, and one from Mr. Hamilton, partly in reply to Mr. Collier. And lastly, in the *Times* of July 20th, appeared Mr. Collier's second letter. These three letters I have also given, *in extenso*, in Chapter VIII.

Such is, in brief, the history of the suspicion which attaches to Mr. Collier, as the sponsor of the Perkins folio.

CHAPTER I.

THE CHRONOLOGICAL TEST.

Here comes the almanack of my true date.

Comedy of Errors.

WHEN Mr. Collier's *Notes and Emendations* were first issued, in 1852, attempts were made to fix the date of the MS. notes by latent internal evidence. The obvious method was by selecting from the Perkins Notes a test-word (or test-phrase), and by proving the negative, that this expression was not in use till a given time, to demonstrate that the writer of that expression could not have written any of the marginal and interlinear notes, before a certain date.

The proof of a negative is always slippery ; especially so where the subject of the negative is an alleged archaism. In the case of the Rowley and Ireland *Fabrications*, the spelling alone ought to have settled the question ; but, in the absence of a knowledge of old orthography, the frequent recurrence of *yts* and *its* ought still to have been con-

clusive against the genuineness of either forgery. And for this reason: that in respect of the use of *its*, a negative was susceptible of proof, and has since been proved. It is this: the first folio of Shakspeare (1623) is the earliest printed book in which the word *its* is found. Thus:—

How sometimes nature will betray *its* folly,
Its tenderness, and make itself a pastime
 To harder bosoms !

Winter's Tale, act i. sc. 2.

Each following day
 Became the next day's master, till the last
 Made former wonders *its*.

Hen. VIII. act i. sc. 1.

Pemle, who died in that very year (1623), employs the word in his works, 1635, p. 171, "If faith alone by *its* own virtue and force," &c. Before 1623, all printed books employ *his*, *her*, and occasionally *it*, in the sense of the more modern *its*. Now, in *Vortigern and Rowena*, *its* occurs four times, in Act I. alone, viz., "*its* master-piece," "*its* nourisher," "*its* golden rays," and "*its* instinct"; and neither *his*, *her*, or *it*, in the sense of *its*, ever occur at all. *Its*, then, is a test-word that conclusively proves that the Ireland MS. was of a later date than 1623, a conclusion sufficient to prove it a forgery of the nineteenth century. Now, this is just what it is proposed to do by the Perkins MS. Notes. The late Mr. Singer once thought that he had found a satisfactory test-word in

“wheedling”; but, as Mr. Collier cautiously says of this and some other words, in a note to the Introduction to the first edition of his *Notes and Emendations*, “it is not impossible, however, that they were in earlier use than our lexicographers represent.” In fact, a book, called the *Art of Wheedling or Insinuation*, was published in 1679; and, though at the present moment I am not able to prove the assertion, I am confident that “wheedling” was in use before the time of Shakspeare.

Mr. Staunton suggested to me some time since that the emendation of *thirst*, vice “first” in *Coriolanus*, act ii. sc. 1 (*Notes and Emendations*, 1st ed. p. 351, 2nd ed. p. 355), was indicative of a recent origin of the Notes; but his argument seems to me to be anything but conclusive. He argues that in such a phrase as “said to be something imperfect in favouring the *thirst* COMPLAINT,” “complaint” could have no other meaning than *malady*, or, as old writers would say, *grief* or *evil*: i.e., the medical sense; and he considers that “complaint” had no such sense in Shakspeare’s day. All I can say is, that I have not yet found a sufficiently early instance of the use of “complaint” in the medical sense to refute Mr. Staunton’s position; and Mr. Herbert Coleridge has given me his opinion, that “complaint” did not acquire its medical sense till the middle of the eighteenth century.

But what if this position were thoroughly established? How would it serve to disprove the antiquity of the Perkins folio? Neither the "Old Corrector's gloss," nor the original text, requires the word "complaint" to be read in the medical sense. "The *thirst* complaint" may simply mean *the desire of drink*, and "the *first* complaint" stands for the *sexual yearning*, which undoubtedly would be increased by "a cup of hot wine, with not a drop of allaying Tyber in't."

Mr. Dyce (*Strictures on Mr. Collier's New Edition of Shakspeare*, pp. 97-98) has a similar argument on the "Old Corrector's" alteration of the line,

This *unheard* sauciness and boyish troops.

King John, act v. sc. 2.

The "Old Corrector" (*Notes and Emendations*, 1st ed., and 2nd ed. p. 211) substitutes *of* for *and*, evidently and indisputably under the impression that "unheard" meant *unheard of*! The line then would mean—the King does not fear harm from *this unheard-of sauciness of troops composed of mere boys*. This "Old Corrector," then, was not old enough to know that in Shakspeare's day, and later, "unheard" was merely a mode of spelling *unhair'd*. "Unhair'd sauciness," then, does not require the conjunction, which *unheard-of sauciness* does.

Again: those who accept either Mr. Staunton's

or Johnson's first interpretation of the soldier's speech in *Timon of Athens* (act v. sc. 4), and especially of the two lines—

Timon is dead, who hath outstretch'd his span;
Some beast read this: there does not live a man,—

will doubtless found an argument against the antiquity of the Perkins folio upon the substitution of Warburton's *rear'd* for "read." (*Notes and Emendations*, 1st ed. p. 394; 2nd ed. p. 405.) For myself I entertain no doubts that, sooner or later, this argument will be conclusive against the antiquity of the MS. Notes. But, until the leading critics are unanimous in accepting the old text, the substitution of course proves nothing to the public against the antiquity of the MS. Note, and by implication, of all other notes in the same handwriting. The "Old Corrector's" substitution of *kills* for "dies," in the following line from *As You Like It* (act iii. sc. 5),—

Than he that *dies and lives* by bloody drops,

looks very much as if he (like Mr. Collier of 1844) did not know that "dies and lives" was a phrase of common use in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in the sense of, "*subsists from the cradle to the grave.*" Mr. Arrowsmith has put this fact beyond question. (*Notes and Queries*, 1st S., vol. vii. p. 542.) Yet Mr. Collier of 1858 still tenaciously clings to his eminently "droll"

emendation of *dines* vice "dies."¹ Again: in a well-known passage in 2 Henry IV. act iv. sc. 1, the "Old Corrector" has substituted *report of war* for "point of war," apparently in profound ignorance that a "point of war" meant a *rappel*, performed of course on the drum. To Mr. Staunton we are indebted for the defence of this position, by several quotations in point from writers of the seventeenth century. Other similar arguments might be adduced; but it is unnecessary to further multiply such instances, because I am in possession of one which is so conclusive, that it is not inferior to the finest chronological test. It is a tool of the most delicate edge. This test-word was kindly communicated to me by A. E. B., in September, 1853, soon after it had been given in confidence to the Editor of *Notes and Queries*. From that time to the present the secret has been well kept by me; and now I only make it public by the permission of its sagacious discoverer.

¹ Mr. Dyce, who formerly advocated a transposition of "dies" and "lives," now quietly stands by the text, but without any allusion to Mr. Arrowsmith. This is Mr. Dyce's failing. To the late Mr. Barron Field and A. E. B. he stands indebted for knowing that "sickles" was the old way of spelling *shekels*; and to Mr. Staunton he stands indebted for *bride* vice "budde," in the *Comedy of Errors*; and for the knowledge that "remember thy courtesy," and "point of war," are phrases that require no emendation. These are but a sample of his unacknowledged obligations. Where the debt is trifling, no editor is more profuse in his acknowledgments.

In *Coriolanus*, act iv. sc. 7, the folio gives us the following grand passage:—

So our virtue[s]
Lie in th' interpretation of the time,
And power, unto itself most commendable,
Hath not a tomb so evident as a chair
T' extol what it hath done.

In the corrected folio, 1632 (*Notes and Emendations*, 1st ed. p.361, 2nd, 366), *Live* supplants "Lie," *in* takes the place of "unto"; and "chair" is altered into *cheer*. The passage, then, stands thus:

So our virtues
Live in th' interpretation of the time,
And power, *in* itself most commendable,
Hath not a tomb so evident as a *cheer*
T' extol what it hath done.

Mr. R. Grant White was so enamoured of the emendation of *cheer* for "chair," that he applied himself to out-perkins Perkins; and he would read the line in which that change was made—

Hath not a tomb so *eloquent* as a *cheer*.

What a pity it is that we have not a committee of Perkinses to put the shine on Shakspeare! What business had he to allude to the Roman "Curule Chair," when he ought to have spoken of the cry of popular applause? What right had he to reward Coriolanus with patrician honours, when that hero might have received, what he had a profound contempt for, a plebeian ovation? Now, the fact is, that *a cheer*, in the only sense in which it gives

meaning to the passage, viz., *a cry of popular applause*, did not exist in the English language till after 1807! and, by a piece of good fortune, this negative is capable of substantiation. "*A cheer*" is of rare occurrence in old writers in any sense. We have it in Sylvester's *Dubartas*, 5th day, 1st week, p. 105, ed. 1618,¹ where we read—

The pretty Lark, climbing the Welkin cleer,
Chaunts with *a cheer*, Here peer—I neer my deer.

Now, in this passage, the lark chanting certain words *with a cheer*, unquestionably means, that he does so *with a gladsome energy*, or, as we say now, *with a will*.

Again we read in Samuel Daniel's *Civill Warres*, st. 57 (Works 1602, fol. 8) :—

Which publique death (received with such *a cheare*
As not a sigh, a looke, a shrink bewrayes
The least felt touch of a gignerous² feare)
Gave life to Envie, to his Courage praise.

Here, *with such a cheer* means *with such a countenance, or bearing*.

The archaic meanings of *cheer* are, first, Countenance; second, Comfort, Cheerfulness. The two passages I have cited illustrate both.

But when do we find the first use of *a cheer* in the required sense? I cannot precisely say; but I believe I am correct in stating, that prior to the year

¹ I am indebted to Mr. Herbert Coleridge for having pointed out to me this almost unique instance, and some others.

² Probably a misprint for *degenerous*.

1808, no instance is adducible of the use of the plural "cheers" in the sense of a cry of applause. In popular assemblies we find "applauses," "applause," "approbation," and some others; but never "cheers." Yet "cheers" was used in another sense; but not very frequently. As thus: in a report of a review at Brighton, in the *Courier* for July 15, 1808, we read:—

"The Brigade under Major Barber, as victors, gave *three cheers*; on which Lord Amherst, after a short but pithy speech [in which he, *sic*] declared, that although the Battalion had surrendered according to a proposed plan to that Brigade, he felt assured that the motto of the St. James' was 'Victory or Death.' This was answered from the Battalion by *three cheers*."

Here, *three cheers* is used in the sense of *triumphal acclamation*.

By a careful search of a file of old newspapers, it will become evident to any one, as it has to me, that *cheers*, in the sense of an audible expression of applause, was a later growth. By the year 1809,¹ this expression had come into use; and by 1812, it was frequently employed; but "cheerings" was even then the more frequent mode of describing a cry of popular approbation.

¹ Thus, in the *Courier* for January 28, 1809, we have, under the heading "House of Commons," after General Stewart's speech, "(loud and repeated cheers.)"

In the year 1811, even the use of "cheerings" in the modern sense of "cheers" was not by any means so common as "cheers" is now. Dibdin, for instance, could not use the word without entering into a lengthy explanation of it, for the benefit of those who were not habitual newspaper readers. In his *Bibliomania*, vol. i. p. 25 (1811), we read—

"Philemon heartily assented to the truth of the remarks, and more than once interrupted Lysander in his panegyrical peroration by his *cheerings*."

On this word (*cheerings*) there is a note to this effect :—

"This word is almost peculiar to our own country, and means a vehement degree of applause. It is generally used previous to, and during, a contest of any kind—whether by men in red coats,—upon land, upon water, or within doors. Even the walls of St. Stephen's Chapel frequently echo to the "loud *cheerings*" of some kind or another. See every newspaper on every important debate."

How much more would Dibdin have deemed "cheers" in need of explanation—and *à fortiori* "a cheer," which, in fact, was not used in the sense of *an audible expression of applause*, till much later.

In S. T. Coleridge's *Essay on his own Times*, vol. iii. p. 950 (Pickering, 1850), we have another instance of the use of *cheerings*, in the sense of *cheers*. The date of the extract is March, 1817.

"The publication, which the proprietors thus

announce to the public, is meant to include the latest accounts of maiden and anile speeches, with a faithful history of *cheerings*, coughings, hemmings, hums and ha's, and question! question! cries strongly recommended to the attention of the reading public."

No: Coleridge himself, in 1817, could not have imagined that "a cheer to extol what it hath done," was classic sense; still less could he have conceived Shakspeare writing it: for a *cheer*, the singular of *cheers*, which last soon after entirely supplanted *cheerings*, was not colloquially or otherwise used with any reference to an audible expression of applause. And yet, a painstaking old gentleman of the middle of the seventeenth century, tells us on authority, that Shakspeare wrote,

Hath not a tomb so evident as a *cheer* to extol, &c.

Shakspeare, verily, must have had a large discourse *looking before*—and a long way too.

Yet I must confess that *a cheer* did mean something audible before it acquired the admirative sense. There is no doubt the first use of *a cheer* in that sense was a nautical use. In the time of Queen Ann, sailors began to use the term with a restricted meaning, viz., *an acclamation of mutual encouragement*; but NOT *of admirative applause*.

It remains then for some one else to fix the exact date at which *a cheer* entered our language in the sense of "an audible expression of admirative

applause." I have proved it could not have been before 1807.

This is enough for my purpose. The inference is, that whoever substituted *cheer* for "chair" in the Perkins folio, he was *one of our own time*; and with Mr. Arrowsmith I may say, "I have much reason to believe that he is living still." (*The Editor of Notes and Queries, and his friend Mr. Singer*, p. 12.)



CHAPTER II.

SOURCES OF THE CORRECTIONS.

Every true man's apparel fits your thief.

Measure for Measure.

As has been shown by Messrs. Singer, Dyce, and Grant White, and even to some extent by Mr. Collier himself, a vast number of the MS. corrections coincide with the conjectural emendations of the commentators. Since Mr. Grant White wrote his *Shakspeare's Scholar* (1856), in which he gives an approximate ratio of the old and new suggestions of the "Old Corrector," a great many have been traced to, or at least found in, various published books, and even MSS. ancient and modern. Every year reduces the number of these rebels; and, inasmuch as it is now a matter of certainty that the MS. corrections of the Perkins folio were almost entirely taken from known sources of information, we may conclude, that in time the great bulk of them will be brought home, and branded as thefts or plagiarisms.

A misapprehension appears to prevail on the subject of the "Old Corrector's" originality. It

is generally supposed, that how many soever of the Perkins glosses were already before the world when the *Notes and Emendations* of Mr. Collier were first made public, the great majority of them were quite new. To correct this misapprehension, it is necessary to distinguish between the several classes of alterations which are found in the Perkins folio. I divide them into four classes.

- I. Alterations of words supposed to have been misprinted.
- II. Insertions of words or phrases supposed to have been omitted by mistake.
- III. Omissions of words supposed to have been inserted by mistake.
- IV. Substitutions of words or phrases for others not understood.

The first class of changes are made on the ground of a presumed want of sense ; the second, on that ground, or on the ground of a defect in the metre ; the third, on the ground of want of sense ; and the fourth, simply from a misprision of the sense.

Now, no mere commentator or editor would ever be justified in making an alteration of the fourth class ; and those of the second and third should be made with great caution, the changes in the third rarely extending beyond the insertion of a word or two. Accordingly the great mass of alterations which have been made by the commentators and editors, are of the first class. Let us compare this

class of alterations in a single play corrected in the Perkins folio, with the Variorum Notes on that play. I take *at random*, *Measure for Measure*. In the following table, the first column contains a complete list of the Perkins corrections of the first class, and the second column gives the names of those commentators and editors who have proposed or adopted any of the same changes. I cannot say that this list of names is anything like complete; but for the purpose of comparison, it must be presumed to be so.

<i>Folio 1632.</i>	<i>Perkins.</i>	<i>Commentator or Editor.</i>
put	apt	
that	add	
<i>demunciation.</i>	<i>pronunciation</i>	
propagation	procuration	<i>Jackson</i>
weeds	steeds	<i>Theobald</i>
slip	sleep	<i>Steevens</i>
error	terror	<i>First Folio</i>
fight	sight	<i>Pope</i>
story	scorn	<i>D'Avenant</i>
seedness	seeding	
winter	window's	
bay	day	
the	your	<i>Pope</i>
now	new	
here	ere	<i>Hanmer</i>
sickles	circles	
evils	offals	
flaws	flames	<i>D'Avenant and Warburton</i>
spare	serve	<i>D'Avenant and Lord Ellesmere's corrected folio 1623</i>
feard	sear[d]	<i>Lord Ellesmere's corrected folio 1623, & Warburton</i>

<i>Folio 1632.</i>	<i>Perkins.</i>	<i>Commentator or Editor.</i>
part	path	
en-shield	inshell'd	<i>Tyrwhitt</i>
loss	force	
building	binding	<i>Johnson</i>
thy	this	<i>Lord E.'s folio 1623</i>
blessed	boasted	
princely	priestly	<i>Warburton</i>
ditto	ditto	<i>Warburton</i>
guards	garb	
cheap	chief	
usuries	usances	
away	array	<i>Theobald and Bishop</i>
trot	troth	<i>Jackson and Collier</i>
this	the	
making	masking	
these	base	
tithe	tilth	<i>Warburton</i>
now	none	
unsisting	resisting	<i>Collier</i>
lord's	lordship's	<i>Collier</i>
gravel heart	grovelling beast	
weal	well	<i>Heath and Hanmer</i>
<i>injurious</i>	<i>perjurious</i>	
Combined	Confined	<i>Johnson's first suggestion</i>
to vaile full	t' availful	<i>Theobald</i>
trust	truth	
retort	reject	
close	gloze	<i>Tallis</i>
<i>remonstrance</i>	<i>demonstrance</i>	<i>Malone</i>

49.

23—new.

26.

N.B.—The pairs of words in italics may be considered as mere equivalents. Where two Commentators or Editors' names are put opposite an emendation, they are presumed to have suggested it independently.

In the second and third classes, the number of "coincidences" is, of course, much less, just as in the case of a wanton alterer of the text, who would, as a matter of course, admit into the text a number of alterations, tasteless as well as unnecessary, which it would not occur to any conscientious editor to propose, or commentator to suggest. Of the "Old Corrector's" (presumed) new suggestions in the foregoing list (to the number of twenty-two), in the first class, it may be very safely stated that only five (*viz.*, "seeding," "new," "offals," "chief," and "usances," would escape *summary* rejection at the hands of any well-informed editor; and of these five, it is not likely that more than one (*viz.*, "offals") will be retained in the text of any modern edition. Many of the remaining seventeen are pure blunders, such as "sirkles," for *sickles*; the Corrector not knowing that *sickle* was the old way of spelling "shekel": so also, "reject" for *retort*; the Duke not having rejected Isabella's suit, but retorted it, *i.e.*, referred it *back* to Angelo and Escalus. The play I have instanced may be fairly taken as a sample of the whole folio. But of course, in some plays, the "Old Corrector" jumps more frequently with the commentators and editors than in others. In the *Merry Wives of Windsor*, for instance, he servilely follows the commentators with scarcely one original conjecture, up to the end of the first scene of the second act, and then

for several scenes he throws them over altogether ; but in these scenes his corrections, as were those of the commentators, are very sparse.

In other plays, such as *Macbeth* and *Henry V.*, several of the emendations have been found in remote and obscure works, and one or two in MSS. of little value and of no antiquity. On all this I can only repeat Mr. Singer's remark, that the probabilities are very strongly against the independence of the "Old Corrector's" annotations.

CHAPTER III.

THE PROCESS OF MANUFACTURE.

Bottom. Let me play the lion too.

Midsummer Night's Dream.

AFTER deducting from the sum of Mr. Perkins's emendations and alterations, those for which he stands indebted to the commentators, ancient and modern, there yet remain a fair array of candidates for our acceptance, which Mr. Collier would have us take on the authority of artificial ink and a simulated hand, as veritable restorations, but which I am satisfied may be proved to be conjectural glosses, gathered during a careful and intelligent collation of Shakspeare's various images and idioms. I proceed now to point out a few instances which are particularly striking. In *Love's Labour's Lost*, act v. sc. 2, the Princess says,—

O poverty in wit, *kingly-poor* flout!

Will they not, think you, hang themselves to-night?

The "Old Corrector" reads—

O poverty in wit, *kill'd by pure* flout!

This was probably suggested to him (as Mr. Dyce

observes in his edition) by a previous expression of Biron's,—

By heaven, all *dry-beaten with pure scoff*.

Add—that in all probability, he also compared the passage to be emendated with a subsequent expression of Biron's,—

Bruise me with scorn, *confound me with a flout*.

“Kill'd by pure flout” is but a cross between “dry-beaten with pure scoff,” and “confounded with a flout.”

Mr. Dyce strangely objects to *kill'd*, because of the second line,—

Will they not, think you, hang themselves to-night?

That Mr. Collier should have deemed such an objection worthy of a serious reply, is very “droll,” to employ a favorite phrase of his own. He says —“The Princess could, of course, never mean that the King and his lords had actually been ‘kill'd by pure flout,’ but merely that they had been driven from the field by the treatment they had received from the ladies.”

I must say, it surpasses my comprehension how Mr. Collier could suppose that any reader, however stupid, would conclude that Boyet, one of the lords, who is present and conversing, is a corpse, or that “the King, Biron, Longaville, and Dumaine,” who *enter* just after, are risen spirits. But perhaps he did not suppose that; but only conceived that Mr.

Dyce did. Well, possibly he did ; for it is evident, that unless he did, his note on the passage is stark nonsense. Verily, Shakspearian editors are an odd race when they are on their editorial stilts.¹

In *All's Well that Ends Well*, act iii. scene 2, Helena, bemoaning the risk to which her husband is exposed in battle, exclaims—

and is it I

That drive thee from the sportive court, where thou
Wast shot at with fair eyes, to be the mark
Of smoky muskets? O you leaden messengers,
That ride upon the *violent* speed of fire,
Fly with false aim ; *move* the *still-peering* air,
That sings with piercing, do not touch my lord!

The “Old Corrector” substitutes *volant* for “violent” ; a change which I have shown to be wholly un-Shakspearian (*Notes and Queries*, 1st Series, vol. vii. p. 427).² The more specious alterations of that reformer are *wound*, *vice* “move,” and *still-piecing*, *vice* “still-peering.” He reads—

wound the *still-piecing* air,

That sings with piercing, do not touch my lord!

These emendations were evidently suggested by a parallel passage in the *Tempest*, act iii. sc. 3,—

¹ Mr. Staunton would supersede “kingly-poor” by *poor-lyking*, a suggestion worthy of consideration. For myself I am not convinced that any alteration is required. “Kingly-poor” is a compound quite in Shakspeare’s manner.

² I can only wonder that Mr. Perkins did not complete his correction of the line, by substituting “t” for the “p” of “speed.” The flying-horse would be just in his manner,—

That ride upon the *volant steed* of fire.

the elements

Of whom your swords are tempered, may as well
Wound the loud winds, or with bemock'd-at stabs
 Kill the *still-closing* waters, as diminish
 One dowe that's in my plume.

In a note in *Notes and Queries*, 1st Series, vol. vii. p. 403, A.E.B. not only points this out, but further gives it as his opinion, that the "Old Corrector" overshot the mark "in not perceiving the nice and subtle distinction between them. The first implies possibility; the second, impossibility." But at p. 524 of the same volume, I pointed out the integrity of the metaphor. It is, indeed, impossible to wound the air; but it is equally impossible that the air should cry out with the pain. I maintain that Shakspeare described the effect of a cannon-ball whistling through the air, by comparing the air to a soldier who is struck and instinctively cries out. I then thought, and I still think that *wound* is a sound emendation of "move"; and that *still-piecing*, which Malone adopted, is the true correction of "still peering." But, be the Perkins readings in this case, right or wrong, I think it is unquestionable that they are purely conjectural, and arrived at in the manner I have indicated.

In *Winter's Tale*, act v. sc. 3, Leontes, who is standing with Perdita, Antigonus, Paulina, and others, before the statue of Hermione, says—

Do not draw the curtain.

Paulina. No longer shall you gaze on't; lest your fancy
 May *think anon* it moves.

Leontes.

Let be, let be.

Would I were dead, but that *methinks already*——¹
 What was he that did make it?—See, my lord,
 Would you not deem it breath'd?

The following points must be first noted:—

1st. “*Methinks already*——” is antithetical to “*think anon*.” I believe I was the first to point this out. That being the case, and “*methinks already*——” being an *aposiopesis* (a break-off in thought as well as expression), it is clear that Leontes was about to add, “it does move.”

2nd. “*Would I were dead*” is an old form of adjuration, and nothing else, as Mr. Staunton has abundantly proved in the excellent note to the above passage in his edition of Shakspeare. “*Would I were dead*” is equivalent to the Jewish form, “*Jehovah do so to me and more also*.” It is, then, *not* an expression of a wish for death.

Now, on both these points the “Old Corrector” has committed a gross blunder: the latter blunder being one which I can hardly think feasible by any one who lived in the seventeenth century. (See chap. vi. page 44.) He interpolates a line after “*already*,”

I am but dead stone looking upon stone.

Now, this line could not have been written by

¹ And then he broke the sentence in his heart
 Abruptly, as a man upon his tongue
 May break it, when his passion masters him.

(*Idylls of the King*, p. 47.)

Shakspeare, for the simple reason that it is founded on the supposition that Leontes has expressed a wish for death, which he has not done. Only fancy the great bard of all time writing such stuff as this:—

God is my witness that methinks already I am but dead!

Yet that is the only meaning the “Old Corrector’s” patchwork can have. How Mr. Dyce could ever have thought the line Shakspearian, can only be explained by supposing that he did not know either of the two points with which I commenced this exposition. But he changed his mind afterwards (as Mr. Halliwell did, after committing himself too hastily to an opinion in favour of *bisson multitude*, *vice* “bosom multiplied.” *Notes and Queries*, vol. v. p. 485), and tells us that at last he found the line “too Shakspearian” (*Few Notes*, p. 81), which Mr. Collier affects to take literally! Mr. Dyce correctly and ingeniously shows the process of manufacture of this precious “restoration.” The “Old Corrector” observed, that Leontes has previously said—

*does not the stone rebuke me
For being more stone than it?—O royal piece,
There’s magic in thy majesty, which has
My evils conjur’d to remembrance, and
From thy admiring daughter took the spirits,
Standing like stone with thee.*¹

¹ This is, as Mr. Dyce well says, spoken of Perdita.

And from the lines in italic type he readily manufactured,—

I am but dead stone looking upon stone ;

or the line which it supplanted,—

I am but dead looking upon dead stone. (See p.).

But Mr. Dyce seems to me to be quite wrong in implying that Shakspeare, “whose variety of expression was inexhaustible,” would not have repeated himself. If one generalized truth in Shakspearian criticism is more unexceptionable than any other, it is this—that in the same play, Shakspeare frequently repeats the same expression. The “Old Corrector’s” line is impossible, as I have shown, on other grounds.

Now, 3rdly—Why does Leontes break off at “already”? Observe that hitherto Hermione has preserved unflinchingly her statue-like demeanour. But at last, her emotion at again seeing Leontes after a separation of sixteen years, begins to manifest itself in shorter breathing. Paulina, seeing this, wishes to draw the curtain; but Leontes replies dreamily to her, that he begins to think that already—— His speech is then suddenly broken off by his amazement at seeing the heaving of the statue’s bosom. Well might he ask—

What fine chisel

Could ever yet cut breath?

I am indebted to Mr. Staunton for this exposition of one of the finest scenes in Shakspeare. After this,

how defiling is the tasteless gloss of the ignoramus who forged the new line. Pah!—the wretch who could do such foul execution upon Shakspeare,

Is fit for treasons, stratagems, and spoils;
The motions of his spirit are dull as night,
And his affections dark as Erebus:
Let no such man be trusted.

In *Troilus and Cressida*, act iii. sc. 3, in a speech of Achilles, the Perkins folio gives us a correction which has been received by all modern editors. The hero says:—

The beauty that is borne here in the face
The bearer knows not, but commends itself
To others' eyes: nor doth the eye itself
(That most pure spirit of sense) behold itself,
Not going from itself; but eye to eye oppos'd
Salutes each other with each other's form.
For speculation turns not to itself,
Till it hath travell'd, and is *married* there,
Where it may see itself.

The Perkins folio substitutes *mirrour'd* for “married.”

I have no doubt the “Old Corrector” obtained the hint for this correction from *Julius Cæsar*, act i. sc. 2, where Cassius asks:—

Tell me, good Brutus, can you see your face?

Brutus. No, Cassius; for the eye sees not itself,
But by reflexion, by some other things.

Cassius. 'Tis just:

And it is very much lamented, Brutus,
That you have no such *mirrors* as will turn
Your hidden worthiness into your eye,
That you might see your shadow.

In *Corolianus*, act iii. sc. 2, we have the passage :

Vol.

Pray be counsell'd ;

I have a heart as little apt as yours,

But yet a brain, that leads my use of anger

To better vantage.

“Apt” may indeed mean *pliable*. The difficulty is not there, but in the words, “my use of anger.” This should have reference to something preceding ; which does not seem to be the case, since the attempt to bend the wills of obstinate people does not necessarily excite their “anger.” Mr. Staunton very ingeniously proposes to substitute *of mettle* for “as little.” “A heart of apt mettle” is indeed sense : but “mettle” is *temper*, and is therefore not equivalent to *anger*. So the difficulty still remains. The “Old Corrector” evades it by interpolating a line ; and a most ingenious one it is. Let us review the process by which this line is manufactured.

1st. “Use of anger,” or, at least, “anger,” would in all probability have occurred in the last line, *if there had been one* ; the reason being that Volumnia, in the next line, speaks of *her* “use of anger” *appositely*.

2nd. “Use of anger,” in the line to be restored, must be at the end, in order that it may explain the omission of the line by the supposition of the compositor’s eye having caught the second termination instead of the first.

3rd. To complete the wanting line, take the following from the *Merchant of Venice*, act iii. sc. 2 :—

Yet look, how far
 The substance of my praise doth wrong *this shadow*
 In underprizing it, so far *this shadow*
 Doth limp behind the substance.

“Doth wrong this shadow”: how? Answer: In underprizing it.

“As little apt as yours”: to do what? Answer: To forego the use of anger.

Yes: but this line is too short, and lacks rhythm. Then alter it, and amplify it, by stating the circumstances under which she is especially inflammable: these are, when under *control* or *reproof*. The required line will then come out in various forms: one of the best is that given by the “Old Corrector”—“*To brook control without the use of anger;*” and if a line has been lost, I cannot suggest a better method of guiding conjecture towards its recovery. But, after all, the Perkins line is but an ingenious manufacture; and it is plain to me that *without the use* is not what Shakspeare would have written. Moreover, I must confess, that when I first read this line, I permitted its singular felicity to dazzle my eyes, and blind me to the process of its composition; and for a while I valued it as a restoration. Maturity of judgment has dispelled that illusion.

One other example of the “Old Corrector’s” process of manufacture, and I have done with this part of my subject. It is one that Mr. R. Grant White brings forward in his *Shakspeare’s Scholar*

(p. 47). In *Cymbeline*, act iii. scene 4, Imogen exclaims—

Some jay of Italy,
Whose mother was her painting, hath betray'd him :
 Poor I am stale, a garment out of fashion.

For the line in *italic* type, the “Old Corrector” substitutes—

Who smothers her with painting ;

which is undoubtedly a very ingenious alteration, though, on the same ground as Mr. Halliwell, I think the original line needs no change whatever. Mr. R. Grant White thinks, and I agree with him, that the “Old Corrector” obtained this line by considering the misprints to which a line in *Hamlet* (act i. sc. 2) has been subjected—

'Tis not alone my inky cloak, *good mother*.

So it stands in the folio: the quarto 1604 misprints it thus:—

'Tis not alone my inky cloak, *could mother* ;

which the quarto 1611 metamorphosed into

'Tis not alone my inky cloak *could smother*.

This was probably a clumsy attempt at emendation. In this heap of rubbish, the “Old Corrector” thought he had turned up a jewel. If “mother” could get misprinted *smother*, surely “who smothers” might easily get misprinted *whose mother* ; and the alteration of the suspected line in *Cymbeline* was effected on grounds which recommend themselves more to the compositor than the critic.

All I would say in defence of the original reading is this:—Had Imogen called her imaginary rival a *daughter of carmine and rouge*, the phrase would have been intelligible enough, as indicating by a poetical image the fact that the Roman courtesan owed all the charms of her complexion to her paint-box. But if she were the *daughter of carmine and rouge*, by imagery less accustomed, but equally admissible, we might say, that *the carmine and rouge were or was her mother*; and it is singularly confirmatory of this view of the passage, that the discourses in *Cymbeline* teem with that very species of imagery which requires explanation in the passage we are considering. The one most in point is the following. Cloten asks Guiderius—

Know'st thou me by my clothes?

to which Guiderius answers—

No, nor thy tailor, rascal,
Who is thy grandfather; he made those clothes,
Which, as it seems, make thee.

Now, if this tailor was his grandfather, the clothes must have been his father; and if Guiderius be allowed to say of the King's son, *Thy father is thy clothes*, because he was merely a "walking clothes-horse," we may surely suspend the rights of emendation, when we find Imogen saying of her rival, *Her mother is her painting*, because she was a walking *miniature*.

CHAPTER IV.

THE LATEST CORRECTIONS.

Meet it is I set it down.—*Hamlet*.

WE have seen that the great bulk of the MS. corrections were probably derived from various published and MS. sources, ancient and modern. We have also laid bare the process of manufacture of those of the corrections which, in all probability, were not appropriations.

The question now to consider is, How late have these, or any of these appropriations been made? It certainly staggered me a good deal to find from the first edition of Mr. Collier's *Notes and Emendations*, that Mr. Singer's emendation of *rother's* for "brother's" in *Timon of Athens* (act iv. sc. 3) was on the margin of Mr. Collier's corrected folio 1632. The fact is, that this celebrated correction was not published by Mr. Singer till 1842, when it appeared in the *Athenæum* for May 14th in that year. In Mr. Collier's edition of 1841-4 (vol. vi. p. 559) he gives Mr. Singer the full credit of this

correction (with a mistake, however, in the reference); and for this disinterested act he afterwards takes credit in a communication to *Notes and Queries*, 1st Series, vol. vii. p. 216 (Feb. 26, 1853). He there reminds Mr. Singer "that there was no reluctance on [his] part to give Mr. Singer full credit for a very happy emendation." Yet Mr. Collier's subsequent acts go to show that this was to pay Peter by robbing Paul, for in *Notes and Emendations*, 1853, the only note on the passage is this:—"Again, for 'brother's sides,' we have '*rother's* sides' properly substituted"! (1st ed. p. 392; 2nd ed. p. 402.) Nor in the supplementary "Notes" to either edition is the omission remedied.

But, in order to show that the Perkins folio has received very recent additions, it is not necessary to be solicitous as to the introduction into its margin of an emendation that was first published, and probably first suggested, in 1842.

On April 17th, 1852 (only three weeks after Mr. Collier's last letter in the *Athenæum*), a letter was published in that periodical from Mr. W. N. Lettsom, communicating Mr. W. Sidney Walker's emendation of "*infinite cunning*," *vice* "*insuite comming*," in *All's Well that Ends Well*, act v. sc. 3. Now, in the *Athenæum* of Jan. 31 and March 27, 1852, Mr. Collier had already made known what he considered, for the purposes of advertisement, the most prepossessing exemplars of

the MS. corrections of the Perkins folio; but *infinite cunning* was not one of them.

On the 22nd of May following, a communication from Mr. Collier was published in *Notes and Queries*, where, in reference to a prior article of Mr. Singer's, Mr. Collier asked that gentleman to inform him in what number of the *Athenæum* Mr. W. S. Walker's emendation had been made public. No reply from Mr. Singer ever appeared in *Notes and Queries*. Nothing further transpired on the subject until the appearance of Mr. Collier's *Notes and Emendations* in the month of February following, when the emendation of "infinite cunning" was not mentioned in the *Introduction* among the examples of sound and self-evident emendation, but was introduced (1st and 2nd ed p. 169) in the following innocent manner:—"On the evidence of the manuscript corrector, as well as common sense, we must print the passage hereafter—

Her *infinite cunning*, with her modern grace,
Subdued me to her rate.

This appears to be one of the instances in which a gross blunder was occasioned, in part by the mishearing of the old scribe, and in part by carelessness of the old printer. The sagacity of the late Mr. Walker hit upon this excellent emendation;" and we may add, the sagacity of some one else seized upon Mr. Walker's correction, and imported it into the Perkins folio. Now, if this importation were

made before the book came into Mr. Collier's hands, I must be permitted to express my unqualified admiration and astonishment—

1st. That Mr. Collier did not select this as an original specimen of the Perkins emendations—being, as it is the best, or, at least, one of the *few* good ones, to be found on its margins. Like Mr. Singer's "rother's" it has received the stamp of approval from Mr. Dyce and Mr. Staunton, by being unhesitatingly installed in the text of both their editions. The late Mr. Singer also (*Notes and Queries*, 1st S., vol. v. 556) spoke of it in terms of unqualified admiration, and adopted it in his latest text.

2nd. That Mr. Collier himself, using the *Athenæum* for his medium of communication with the public, and naturally expecting communications on the subject of his revelations to appear in the *Athenæum*, yet asked Mr. Singer, in *Notes and Queries*, where the emendation was to be found, because, if in the *Athenæum*, it had escaped him!

3rd. That Mr. Collier did not see that it was his *duty as well as policy even then* to make known his discovery, that the emendation was on the margin of his folio.

4th. That when his *Notes and Emendations* did finally appear, nine months after, not a word in explanation of this extraordinary oversight in the first examination of the folio, or the subsequent

discovery, was to be found; nor was it mentioned in the *Introduction* as an instance of felicitous emendation; but, on the contrary, this emendation, the most important by far in the whole collection, is smuggled into that work in the most *naïve* manner, and with far less approbation bestowed upon it than upon nine-tenths of the trumpery glosses with which the book is crammed.

These are the points that would beyond measure excite my wonderment, if I could really believe that when Mr. Collier published his specimens of the "Old Corrector's" handicraft in the *Athenæum*, the emendation in question were already installed in its place in the folio. But, whoever put it there, I cannot bring myself to believe that it was there then: and the reader must judge for himself from the facts I have stated, whether in this I am right or wrong.

It is also very remarkable, that Mr. Dyce's emendation of *uptrimmed*, vice "untrimmed," in *K. John*, act iii. sc. 1, is on the margin of the Perkins folio. It was first divulged by Mr. Singer in *Notes and Queries* for July 3, 1852 (1st S., vol. vi. p. 6), and probably made its way into the Perkins folio at the same time as *infinite cunning* did. It is also instructive, that so remarkable an emendation was omitted from Mr. Collier's *Notes and Emendations*. The fact is, it was not invented when the first edition of that work was published.

CHAPTER V.

REMARKABLE COINCIDENCES.

Both our inventions meet and jump in one.
Taming of the Shrew.

IN collating the "Old Corrector's" annotations with those of the editors and commentators, two striking facts result :—

1st. That, to use the late Mr. Singer's expression, there is "a wonderful sympathy" between Mr. Collier and the "Old Corrector," shown by the great number of Mr. Collier's original suggestions, which have found their way into the Perkins folio.

2nd. That there is an equally wonderful sympathy between the MS. corrector of Lord Ellesmere's folio 1623 and the "Old Corrector," shown by the number of "coincidences" between the emendations of the two correctors.

The following tables furnish a tolerably complete list of both classes of "coincidences."

MR. COLLIER'S ORIGINAL SUGGESTIONS.

Folio text. Perk. reading. Coll.ed. 1844.

THE TEMPEST.

Act iv. sc. i.	of the <i>windring</i> brooks	<i>winding</i>	i. 69
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MEASURE FOR MEASURE.

Act iii. sc. 2.	And extracting A clutch'd	<i>it</i>	ii. 57
Ditto ditto	What say'st thou, <i>trot</i>	<i>troth (sic Jack- son)</i>	ii. 59
Act iv. sc. 2.	That wounds th' <i>unsisting</i> postern	<i>resisting</i>	ii. 73
Ditto ditto	This is his <i>lord's</i> man	<i>lordship's</i>	ii. 74

COMEDY OF ERRORS.

Act i. sc. 1.	To seek thy <i>help</i> by beneficial help	<i>hope</i>	ii. 118
Act iii. sc. 1.	Your long experi- ence of <i>your</i> wisdom	<i>her</i>	ii. 139
Ditto ditto	Plead on <i>your</i> part	<i>her</i>	ii. 139
Act iii. sc. 2.	Gaze <i>when</i> you should	<i>where</i>	ii. 142
Act v. sc. 1.	And thereupon these errors <i>are</i> arose	<i>all</i>	ii. 177

MUCH ADO ABOUT NOTHING.

Act ii. sc. 1.	As terrible as A terminations	<i>her</i>	ii. 208
Ditto ditto	I cannot endure <i>this lady's</i> tongue	<i>my lady</i>	ii. 209
Act ii. sc. 3.	We'll fit the <i>kid</i> -fox with a pennyworth	<i>hid</i>	ii. 215
Act iii. sc. 1.	Every one <i>cannot</i> master a grief	<i>can</i>	ii. 227

	<i>Folio text.</i>	<i>Perk. reading.</i>	<i>Coll.ed.1844.</i>
LOVE'S LABOUR'S LOST.			
Act v. sc. 1.	Do you not educate your youth at the <i>charge</i> house	<i>large</i>	ii. 348
MIDSUMMER NIGHT'S DREAM.			
Act iii. sc. 1.	The flowers <i>of</i> odi- ous savours sweet	<i>have</i>	ii. 421
Act iii. sc. 2.	This <i>princess of</i> pure white	<i>impress</i>	ii. 431
AS YOU LIKE IT.			
Act. iii. sc. 3.	But <i>wind</i> away	<i>wend</i>	iii. 63
TAMING OF THE SHREW.			
Act v. sc. 2.	When the raging war is <i>come</i>	<i>gone</i>	iii. 194
TWELFTH NIGHT.			
Act iii. sc. 1.	The King <i>lies</i> by a beggar	<i>lives</i>	iii. 373
Act v. sc. 1.	Then <i>cam'st</i> in smiling	<i>Thou (sic</i> <i>Jackson)</i>	i. cclxxxvi.
WINTER'S TALE.			
Act ii. sc. 1.	I would <i>land-damn</i> him	<i>lamback</i>	iii. 456
Act iv. sc. 2.	Doth set my <i>pug-</i> <i>ging</i> tooth on edge	<i>prigging</i>	iii. 488
KING JOHN.			
Act iii. sc. 3.	Sound on into the drowsy <i>race</i> of night	<i>eare</i>	iv. 53
RICHARD II.			
Act v. sc. 5.	Now, <i>sir</i> , the sound	<i>for</i>	iv. 211
HENRY V.			
Act i. sc. 2.	To <i>tame</i> and havoc	<i>tear</i>	iv. 476

Folio text. Perk. reading. Coll.ed.1844.

1 HENRY VI.

Act v. sc. 3. *Mad* natural graces *Mid* v. 95

2 HENRY VI.

Act iii. sc. 1. For he's inclin'd as
is the ravenous *wolves* *wolf* v. 153

CORIOIANUS.

Act i. sc. 3. At Grecian sword *contemning* vi. 154
contending

ROMEO AND JULIET.

Act ii. sc. 2. The lazy *puffing* *passing* vi. 407
 clouds

MACBETH.

Act v. sc. 3. Cleanse the stuff'd
bosom of that perilous *stuff* *grief*—"The vii. 177
error, if any, rather lies in the last word of the line."¹
Grief is not actually given by Mr. Collier.

¹ Mr. Dyce, in his charming volume, *Few Notes*, &c. (p. 132), says, on this emendation of the "Old Corrector,"—"Further it may be asked, if the manuscript corrector's alteration does not introduce a great impropriety of expression—'CLEANSE the bosom of GRIEF?' Answer, No: for he evidently does not mean 'cleanse the bosom of grief,' but 'cleanse the bosom of *a* grief,' i.e., a disease, or sickness."

I will here call attention to a striking parallel between the "Old Corrector's" reading—

Canst thou not * * *

* * with some sweet oblivious antidote

Cleanse the stuff'd bosom of that perilous *grief*

Which weighs upon the heart,

Besides these, there are many alterations of the "Old Corrector" which Mr. Collier put forth in 1844, apparently unconscious that other commentators had forstalled him.¹ The preceding list includes, as far as I can discover, only two of this class, both of which are found in Jackson's *Restorations and Illustrations*, a work which Mr. Collier abundantly shows himself not to have read, though he adopted with acknowledgment in his edition of 1844 one emendation from it (*viz.*, *unawares*, *vice*

and the following passage in Daniel's *Queen's Arcadia*, act iii. sc. 2: Daphne asks (after the Quacksalver has gone out)—

but *ô what*

Can physicke do to cure that hideous wound
My lusts have given my conscience? which I see
Is that which onely is diseased within,
* * * * * *that layes upon my heart,*
This heavy loade that weiges it downe with griefe;
And no disease beside, for which there is
No cure I see at all, nor no redress.

(Here *griefe* is used in the double sense, as it is a few lines above, where Daphne, alluding to the Quacksalver, says,—

Who ever could have thought
Any man living, could have told so right
A woman's *griefe* in all points as he hath?)

Without going the length of saying that I accept the Perkins emendation of *grief*, *vice* "stuff," I must say that I think it has more to recommend it than nine-tenths of those which have received popular favour.

¹ See, for instance, Collier, 1844, ii. 81, 129, and 149; &c.; so also, vii. 277, 411, and 582; &c.; and viii. 74.

“runaways,” in *Romeo and Juliet*) : nor can I say that he lost anything by not extending his acquaintance with that book.

EMENDATIONS IN LORD ELLESMERE'S CORRECTED FOL. 1623.

Folio text.

Perkins reading.

MEASURE FOR MEASURE.

Act ii. sc. 4.	Grown <i>fear'd</i> and tedious	<i>sear[d]</i> (<i>sic</i> Warburton)
Ditto ditto	Owe and succeed <i>thy</i> weakness	<i>this</i>

AS YOU LIKE IT.

Act iii. sc. 2.	A <i>living</i> humour of madness	<i>loving</i> (<i>sic</i> Johnson)
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ALL'S WELL THAT ENDS WELL.

Act ii. sc. 2.	Where hope is coldest and despair most <i>shifts</i>	<i>fits</i>
Act ii. sc. 5.	And ere I do begin	<i>end</i>

WINTER'S TALE.

Act i. sc. 2.	What lady <i>she</i> her lord	<i>should</i>
Act iii. sc. 3.	You're a <i>mad</i> old man	<i>made</i>
Act iv. sc. 3.	For I do fear eyes <i>over</i>	<i>ever</i>

It is remarkable how sparse both classes of emendations gradually become as we approach the end of the folio.

It is remarkable, too, that among the numerous instances of coincidence between Mr. Collier and Mr. Perkins, cited by Mr. Singer in his *Shakspeare Vindicated*, such as (a) original suggestions of

Mr. Collier (β), adoptions of quarto readings (γ) adoptions of the conjectures of Tyrwhitt, Monck Mason, &c., and (δ) adhesions to the corrupt old text, we find only *six* of the readings given in my first table; and only *one* of those of my second table.

Besides the suggestions of Mr. Collier given in the first list, I find about forty-five others which are among the notes to his ed. 1844—not one of which appears among the *Notes and Emendations*, 1856; but I am not satisfied but that some of these may, nevertheless, be in the Perkins folio; for, to my certain knowledge, Mr. Collier has omitted from his “List of every Manuscript Note and Emendation in Mr. Collier’s Copy of Shakespeare’s Works, folio 1632,” quite as many corrections as he has inserted there.

CHAPTER VI.

REMARKABLE DISCREPANCIES.

<i>Duke.</i>	_____	His integrity
Stands without blemish.		
	_____	<i>Measure for Measure.</i>

It were an endless task to collate the Perkins folio with Mr. Collier's account of it; but a very small comparison of the two has revealed sundry cases of *suppressio veri* and *assertio falsi* on Mr. Collier's part. Some of these are palpably disingenuous; others savour rather of mental disturbance—just as if an old impression of a reading had broken into and marred his recollection of the reading of the “corrected folio.” As an instance of disingenuousness, take the following. In *Winter's Tale* (act v. sc. 3) occurs a passage which I have already discussed in Chap. IV.,—

<i>Leon.</i>	Let be, let be!
Would I were dead, but that methinks, already—	
What was he that did make it?	

Mr. Collier says, “‘Let be, let be!’ is addressed to Paulina, who *offers to draw the curtain* before the statue of Hermione, as we find from a manuscript stage-direction, and the writer of it, in a

vacant space adjoining, thus supplies a missing line, which we have printed in *italic* type :—

Let be, let be!

Would I were dead, but that, methinks, already

I am but dead, stone looking upon stone.

What was he that did make it?"

Truly, indeed, does Mr. Collier say this interpolated line is written "in a vacant space adjoining"; but why does he suppress the fact that this space has not always been vacant? Another line has already been there, and has been laboriously, but not successfully, erased. The line in *italics* is written in pale ink, in a simulated hand, upon the erasure.¹

Sir F. Madden and Mr. Hamilton have both most kindly examined, for me, this erasure under a magnifier, and it is now beyond question that, before the erasure, the "vacant space" was occupied by the following line :—

I am but dead *looking upon deade stone.*²

I have already noticed (Ch. IV.) the process of manufacture of the "Old Corrector's" interpolated line—

To brook *control* without the use of anger.

So the line stands in the Perkins folio; and so

¹ It is but fair, however, to say that Mr. Collier, in his *Introduction*, acknowledges in general terms the fact of many of the emendations having been written upon erasures.

² The words in italics are still legible; the remainder is a necessary inference.

Mr. Collier gave it in his *Notes and Emendations* (1st ed. pp. xxiii and 357; 2nd ed. pp. xxxi, and 361) in the facsimile which was subsequently made for private distribution, in his mono-volume *Shakspeare*, and in his Appendix to the *Seven Lectures on Shakspeare and Milton*. And yet, with a strange, and almost unaccountable obliviousness, he gives the line thus, in his edition 1858, vol. iv. p. 666 (a prescriptively fatal number),—

To brook *reproof* without the use of anger;

telling us, in a note, “This line is from the corrected folio 1632, and is clearly wanted, since the sense is incomplete without it.” I must say I thought the original line good; but I think that the new line out-perkinses Perkins. Is it not possible that here Mr. Collier’s remarkable memory is too retentive; and that, though second thoughts may be best, first thoughts are sometimes inconveniently remembered, to the prejudice of the second?

Again: in *Timon of Athens*, act ii. sc. 2, Flavius laments that Timon

takes no account

How things go from him, nor resumes no care

Of what is to continue. Never mind

Was to be so unwise, to be so kind.

Mr. Collier tells us in *Notes and Emendations*, 1st ed. p. 389; 2nd ed. 399—that the “Old Corrector” reads the passage thus:—

Takes no account
 How things go from him ; *no reserve* ; no care
 Of what is to continue. Never mind
 Was *surely* so unwise, to be so kind.

And so indeed it stands in the Perkins folio : but I must add, that “so” has once been struck through, and *too* put in the margin.

Mr. Collier gives the same version of these two emendations in the mono-volume *Shakspeare*, and in the Appendix to the *Seven Lectures on Shakspeare and Milton*. And yet, strange to say, in his edition 1858, vol. v. p. 231, he gives it thus:—

takes no account
 How things go from him ; *no reserves*, no care
 Of what is to continue ;

and he tells us in a note that “the corrected folio 1632 gives us an emendation, making the whole passage clear and grammatical,” &c. No such thing. The “corrected folio” gives *no reserve*. There is a blot near the *caret*, but nobody could possibly take it for a letter ; and if it were, it could not belong to the word in the margin.

In *Much Ado about Nothing*, act ii. sc. 1, Benedict speaks of Beatrice “huddling jest upon jest with such *impossible* Conveyance.” This text ought never to have been suspected, and it is easily explained and justified ; but the “Old Corrector” has made havoc of it. He first drew his pen through “possible,” and in the margin wrote *portable*, thus making the word *importable* ; which is a word in

use in Shakspeare's day. But, not satisfied with this, he scratched out the dot of the "i," and turned the "im" into *un*, thus making the word *unportable*. Accordingly in *Notes and Emendations* (1st and 2nd ed. p. 68), Mr. Collier tells us that the "Old Corrector's" word was *importable*; but in the *Seven Lectures on Shakspeare and Milton* (p. 168) he tells us that the word is *unportable*; while, in his *edition* of 1858 (vol. ii. page 27), he installs *importable* in the text, and tells us, in a note, that such is the word of the corrected folio 1632. Mr. Collier must have forgotten that the "Old Corrector" had altered his word, between 1853 and 1856.

Another instance, and a most remarkable one it is, of a freak of memory on Mr. Collier's part, is in 2 Hen. VI. act iv. sc. 7. After the stage direction, "*Re-enter Rebels, with the heads of Lord Say and his Son-in-law,*" Jack Cade says, "But is not this braver?—Let them kiss one another, for they loved well, when they were alive." On this Mr. Collier has this note (edition 1858):—"Here the corrected folio 1632, adds, as a stage direction, 'Jowl them together,' and no doubt the rebels suited the action to the word. The fact is related by Holinshed." Now, where did Mr. Collier get the word "together"? The "corrected folio 1632 has simply, *Jowle them*. Where verification was so easy, I wonder that Mr. Collier should have trusted his too retentive memory.

These are but a sample of the discrepancies between the Perkins notes and Mr. Collier's account of them. The great, the most striking discrepancy, is the circumstance that in 1856, in the Appendix to the *Seven Lectures*, Mr. Collier professed to give the public a complete list of the Perkins Emendations—even specifying two, viz., *do*, vice “no” in *Macbeth*, and *halter*, vice “haste” in *Timon of Athens*, which he alleged to have escaped his attention in 1853, owing to the paleness of the ink; and that no other sin of omission on his part could be discovered. Now, the fact is, that Mr. Collier's list contains *much less than half*, I should say *not more than a third*, of the alterations of the Perkins folio; and some of the few thousands omitted by Mr. Collier are as plain as any in the book, and written in darker ink than those which escaped his examination in 1852 and 1853; Mr. Grant White in his *Shakspeare's Scholar*, expresses his surprise, *ironice*, that the “Old Corrector” had not altered “speak” into *squeak*, in *Othello*, act iii. sc. 1. No such a reading was given by Mr. Collier till 1856; yet in the margin of the line in question, stands a *q* in dark ink; and the *p* in “speak” is erased with a pen! Similarly, I had, some years ago, written in pencil, *limb*, vice “limit,” in the margin of my copy of Harness' edition of *Winter's Tale*, opposite the line “strength of limit,” &c., and pointed it out to a friend as an instance in

which Perkins had omitted to make an alteration exactly in his own style. I ultimately found that the emendation of *limbes* vice "limit," had been made in the Perkins folio, but that it had been partially erased. This is one of the immense number of alterations which Mr. Collier has ignored in all his publications.

This is a part of the subject which requires to be treated more extensively than I am able to do. I look to Mr. Hamilton's promised volume to supply this *desideratum*.



CHAPTER VII.

A TRUE RESTORATION.

Confirm'd, confirm'd! O that is stronger made
Which was before barr'd up with ribs of iron.
Much Ado about Nothing.

WE now come to the most damnatory circumstance connected with the Perkins MS. annotations.

In *Notes and Queries* (1st Series, vol. v. p. 241) for March 13th, 1852, was published an article from the pen of A.E.B. on the subject of the stage direction “(writing)” which in all modern editions stands opposite the line

At least I'm sure it may be so in Denmark ;
in *Hamlet*, act i. sc. 4. This article is one of the first importance, if it be regarded merely as affecting our judgment on that much-disputed point, the character of Hamlet. Coleridge, as is well known, deduced from the “tables” scene the inference that Hamlet's mind became first disturbed immediately after the disappearance of the Ghost, and that Hamlet's incipient insanity is manifested in an absurd action : viz., the jotting down of a generalized truth

(That one may smile and smile and be a villain)

on his material tables, because he had sworn to wipe all such "from the tables of [his] memory," and to retain there only one thing, the Ghost's "commandment."

Now, it is obvious, that if Shakspeare did not intend Hamlet to jot down the line,

That one may smile and smile and be a villain,

but, on the contrary, to "make a note" on his tables of the Ghost's parting injunction,

Adieu, adieu, adieu, remember me!

there is an end of the absurd action, and all is congruous and rational, for the basis of the hypothesis of Hamlet's insanity is cut away.

I mention these matters thus particularly—

First, because in the whole course of *Notes and Queries*, with one very trifling exception—which is a note signed M. (vol. v. page 285), and is on a subordinate point incidentally touched on in A. E. B.'s article—not a single note or comment on that article has ever been admitted into that periodical.

Secondly, because Hamlet's character has long been regarded by the world, and by critics in particular, as the most interesting of Shakspeare's masterpieces; and A. E. B.'s article has so direct a bearing on our judgment thereupon.

Let us, then, distinctly understand A. E. B.'s reading. It is this. The line,—

That one may smile and smile and be a villain!

is an *admirative comment* on the fact, that, at least in Denmark, there is a man who “murders while he smiles” (3 *Henry VI.* act iii. sc. 3). So in *Cymbeline*, act i. sc. 1, we are presented with the fact of the King’s two sons having been stolen, and the “2nd Gentleman’s” admirative comment on this is,—

That a king’s children should be so convey’d,
So slackly guarded!

Hamlet’s speech is broken from excitement and impulse. He begins to say that he must set “it” down; but does not say what. Then comes his admirative comment on the King’s smiling villany; then the statement of the known instance. “So uncle, there you are!” means *So uncle, I’ve found you out!* Then checking himself, he says—“Now to my *word*” (or “words,” as the quarto 1603 has it), *i.e.*, the thing which he is to set down. “Meet it is I set *it* down” * * * “*It* is ‘Adieu, adieu, adieu, remember me!’” A. E. B. accordingly gives these directions for punctuating the passage:—

“After ‘set it down,’ a full stop; after ‘and be a villain,’ a note of admiration; the stage direction ‘(writing)’ to be removed two lines lower down.” The passage then would stand thus:—

O villain, villain, smiling, damned villain!
My tables! meet it is I set it down.—
That one may smile and smile and be a villain!
At least I’m sure it may be so in Denmark;

So uncle, there you are!—now to my word ;
 It is ‘ Adieu, adieu, remember me.’ [*Writing.*
 I have sworn it. [*Having kissed the tables.*

Now, I repeat, it would be difficult to overrate the importance of this change: and the suggestion is one which involves merely a change of punctuation (for the stage direction is not in any old copy), and is besides recommendad by its consistency and beauty.

For a long time I was unconvinced by A. E. B.’s argument: simply because I could not regard “That one may smile and be a villain,” as an admiring comment. My hesitation, however, has vanished. I now see that the only difference of construction between that and the line, “That a king’s children should be so convey’d,” is, that in the latter, the speaker’s wonderment is on a FACT—the fact of the *indignity* of the theft: while in the former the speaker’s wonderment is on a POSSIBILITY—the possibility of the *coexistence of cheerfulness and villany*. Therefore the one speaker wonders “that it should be so!”—the other, “that it may be so!”

This remarkable article having been greeted with an honorably distinctive silence, A. E. B. subsequently asks in *Notes and Queries* (1st Series, vol. vi. p. 270) for Sept. 18, 1852:—“In what edition was the stage direction ‘(writing)’ at the conclusion of the Ghost scene in *Hamlet*, first inserted?”

To this no reply ever appeared in that or any other periodical. In *Notes and Queries* (1st Series, vol. vii. p. 178) for Feb. 19, 1853, A. E. B. reverts to the subject of his question, and says :—" Perhaps Mr. Collier will do me the favour to answer it, particularly as his annotated folio is remarkably rich 'in *stage directions*.' Before taking the liberty of putting the question so directly to Mr. Collier, I waited an examination of his recently published volume of selected corrections, in which, however, the point upon which I seek information is not alluded to."

In *Notes and Queries* (1st Series, vol. vii. p. 216,) for Feb. 26, 1853, Mr. Collier writes :—" Domestic anxieties having unavoidably detained me in this place [Torquay] during the last three or four months, I am necessarily without nearly all my books. My corrected folio 1632 is one of the very few exceptions; and as I have not the No. of '*N. & Q.*' to which A. E. B. refers, I am unable to reply to his question, simply because I do not remember it. To whomsoever these initials belong, he is a man of so much acuteness and learning, that although I may deem his conjectures rather subtle and ingenious than solid and expedient, I consider him entitled to all the information in my power. I do not, of course, feel bound to notice all anonymous speculators (literary or pecuniary); but if A. E. B. will be good enough to take the trouble to repeat

his interrogatory, I promise him to answer it at once."

Now, what is all this about? Mr. Collier writes as if A. E. B. had asked him to undertake some more gigantic task than to answer a "minor query"; as if the repetition of the said "minor query" were a serious undertaking:—"if he will be good enough to take the trouble to repeat," &c. ! But with all the guarded smoothness of his compliments, who, of the readers of *Notes and Queries*, did not take this as a gentlemanly put-off, providing a means of present delay and prospective subterfuge? A. E. B. having waited two months, to give Mr. Collier time to return to his books, wrote to *Notes and Queries*: "I now no longer hesitate to ask the editor for an opportunity of again *inserting* it [the query], trusting that a sufficient excuse will be found in the importance of the subject as affecting the fundamental sense of a passage in Shakspeare." This note was accompanied with a private communication to the editor, expressly desiring that the original query might (in compliance with Mr. Collier's request) be reprinted at the foot of the note. The note duly appeared in *Notes and Queries* (1st Series, vol. vii. p. 449) for May 7, 1853, *but not in its integrity*: the words "inserting it" were supplanted by the words "referring to it"; and the original query was not repeated.

In August, 1853, in reply to a remark of Mr.

Collier's (in *Notes and Queries*, 1st Series, vol. viii. p. 74), I wrote to him, charging him with having forfeited his plight to "a well-known anonymous correspondent" in *Notes and Queries*. In his rejoinder, dated April 10th, 1853, he says, "I am not aware that I ever forfeited my plight to any correspondent, anonymous or avowed; but my memory may fail me"! What a convenient *memory* is this of Mr. Collier's! He had declared, as we have seen, almost in the same words, only six months before, when replying to this very "anonymous correspondent," that he does not answer his query "simply because *I do not remember it*;" and yet, when this same memory is applied to the Coleridge Lectures, it recalls without difficulty the minutest details across a vast of forty years! It must not be lost sight of in this inquiry, that only three months before Mr. Collier's letter to me, when the *second appeal*, mutilated as it was, did appear, *his name, in large type*, appears thrice on two several pages of the same number of *Notes and Queries*, in which *there is a paper from himself*!

The fact, however, is, that Mr. Collier never replied to A. E. B.'s query.

In December, 1853, I went to the British Museum, to make some collations of *Hamlet*, and I availed myself of the occasion to search the various editions of that play, for the first appearance of the stage direction "(writing)", and, working upwards,

I first came upon it in Rowe's edition, 1709. That Rowe, in 1709, should have been the first to introduce the stage direction "(writing)," is a proof that it rests not upon any nice critical appreciation of the character of Hamlet. Rowe was a very small critic, and was not a man to *originate* such a reading, unless from ignorance; but that his edition is the first in which this stage direction appears is, I doubt not, the very reason which rendered the question of A. E. B. (as to whether this stage direction is introduced in MS. in Mr. Collier's folio) *so inconvenient to answer*. Now, it was evident, that if after all it should turn out that it was so introduced, it would add another strong suspicion as to the modern fabrication of the Perkins annotations.

But the real fact is far worse than this. On June 4th, 1859, I went to the British Museum, for the purpose of examining the Perkins folio. Among numerous other passages, I turned to the "tables" scene, expecting to find the stage direction "(writing)" opposite the line, "At least I'm sure it may be so in Denmark;" but there was no such stage direction anywhere. I then held up the leaf to the light, but could in that manner find no trace of an erasure. I then examined the right-hand margin by reflected light, and fancied there was an appearance as of an erasure skilfully effected. I appealed to Mr. Staunton, who was present, but he

could not positively say there had been an erasure. I then applied to one of the gentlemen of the MS. Department, who examined the margin, and expressed an opinion against the erasure. At this time Sir Frederick Madden had left, so I postponed a further examination of the supposed erasure till my next visit.

On the 6th of that month I again visited the MS. Department of the British Museum, and pointed out the place in which I fancied there had been an erasure, to Sir F. Madden. He at once assented; and on my telling what word I suspected to have been once there, he said that he could even then see a W, or, at least, traces of where one had been. At my request he then applied to the suspected place the hydro-sulphate of ammonia; and even before it was dry, the letters *Wri* became visible! (See the facsimile which is the frontispiece of this volume.) When the hydro-sulphate of ammonia had become dry, the entire word ("writing") was legible. When I last saw the Perkins folio, all had faded but "(wri g)"; and probably, by the action of the chemical, much of this will ultimately fail.

Now, let us review the real state of the case. I observe—

1. The query was proposed in the same number of *Notes and Queries*, with and within a page or two of a paper by Mr. Singer, *which was responded to by Mr. Collier within the week*: hence his atten-

tion was particularly engaged upon the identical number of which he afterwards pleads total forgetfulness.

2. At the same time, Mr. Collier was such an attentive reader of *Notes and Queries*, that not even casual remarks escaped reply from him. Thus we find him, on the 20th of November, commenting upon the incidental mention by Mr. Singer (only the week before) of an old emendation, made by him twenty-five years previously; but when asked, directly and by name, on the 19th of February, to answer the query proposed four months before, Mr. Collier pleads inability to do so, because he has not with him the number containing it! He also pleads that domestic anxieties have detained him in Torquay *three or four months*, the latter being precisely the interval from the first proposal of the query, although we have seen him in the interim correcting proofs for the press, and needlessly commenting within the week upon matters not so obviously connected with his forthcoming volume.

3. Now, supposing Mr. Collier's excuse literally true, would it not have been infinitely easier to obtain the back number by return of post, than to ask the querist, in a roundabout way, through the pages of *Notes and Queries*, to "*be good enough to take the trouble to repeat his interrogatory*"? Such a demand, even supposing it *bonâ fide*, must appear

to any person of ordinary sense too absurd and preposterous to notice !

4. Nevertheless, the querist, although doubtless amused with the shuffle of the request, did at length comply with it, first having given Mr. Collier three months to refer to the original query, had he chosen to do so ; then, as a last resource, he did “ repeat his interrogatory,” at least he intended to do so ; but, to his great surprise, his note was altered by the editor, and his renewed appeal to Mr. Collier, so altered, was published in *Notes and Queries* of May 7th, 1853, without a heading, and without being accompanied, as requested, by a reprint of the original query : such treatment being *significant*, when it is recollected that the editor of that periodical was and is a declared partizan of Mr. Collier !

Finally : This last appeal was never responded to by Mr. Collier, although he had declared, that “ if A. E. B. would be good enough to take the trouble to repeat his interrogatory, I promise to answer it at once :” and A. E. B.’s article, his original and both his repeated queries, as well as the notes of Mr. Collier and “ M,” were excluded from the General Index to the first twelve volumes of *Notes and Queries* ; notwithstanding the fact that I took the trouble to point out to the editor the omission of one from its proper place in the index to vol. v., and the mistake in the entry of another in vol. vi.,

at the same time that I contributed a list of omissions towards the completion of the General Index.

And now let the reader call to mind that the stage direction, which would have told such tales, has been erased; and I will leave him to draw his own conclusion.



CHAPTER VIII.

THE WRITING.

Yea, look'st thou pale? Let me see the writing.

Richard II.

ALL the evidence which I have been able to get together, to show the very recent origin of the Perkins MS. notes, being for the most part *internal*, is necessarily inferior to the *external* evidence, *i.e.*, the evidence of fabrication which is afforded by the actual writing.

The writing in the Perkins folio affords conclusive evidence of—1st, that the character is simulated; 2nd, that almost every alteration of the text in ink has been made in obedience to an underlying alteration in pencil; 3rd, that every word in pencil is in a very modern handwriting; 4thly, that the same hand that wrote the notes in ink, wrote also those in pencil.

These deductions belong to the special department of palæography, with which I am not competent to meddle. Very much remains to be done; but still the Perkins folio has been submitted to a careful preliminary scrutiny by the gentlemen of

the MS. Department of the British Museum; and Mr. N. E. S. A. Hamilton communicated the general result of that scrutiny to the *Times* of the 2nd of July last. Mr. Hamilton's letter is as follows: —

Sir,—Perhaps, amid the press and distraction of politics which are now agitating the great world, you can find room for the account of a most extraordinary deception which has been practised in the republic of letters, some details of which I now beg to lay before you.

In 1852, Mr. John Payne Collier published a volume containing numerous and important *Notes and Emendations* of the text of Shakspeare, made, as he stated, on the faith of a copy of the folio edition of 1632, purchased by him of Mr. Thomas Rodd in 1849, and exhibiting a vast number of marginal corrections and alterations in a handwriting asserted by Mr. Collier to be, to the best of his belief, contemporary, or nearly so, with the date of the edition.

Such has been the effect of that publication throughout Europe that since the date of its issue the text of Shakspeare has been extensively changed, and this, notwithstanding the strongest remonstrance and opposition from various quarters. I need not go over this ground, familiar as it is to all who know anything of the literary history of the last ten years.

In 1853 Mr. Collier published a second edition of his work, together with an edition of *Shakspeare* founded on the corrected folio; and in 1856 what professed to be a complete list of all the readings.

"I have," says he in his preface to this last work (p. lxxix), "often gone over the thousands of marks of all kinds in its margins; but I will take this opportunity of pointing out two emendations of considerable importance, which, happening not to be in the margins, and being written with very pale ink, escaped my eye until some time after the appearance of my second edition, as well as of the one-volume *Shakspeare*. For the purpose of the later portion of my present work I have recently re-examined every line and letter of the folio 1632, and I can safely assert that no other sin of omission on my part can be discovered."

These publications were accompanied by what professed to be a minute account of the appearance and history of the recently discovered folio. It is, however, notorious that by a considerable number of persons interested in the subject the descriptions thus given were never deemed sufficient or satisfactory in a matter of such deep literary importance.

In common with others, I had often desired to see the volume, which meanwhile had become the property of the Duke of Devonshire. This wish has at length been gratified. Some two months ago his Grace the present Duke liberally placed

the folio in the hands of Sir Frederick Madden, Keeper of the MSS. in the British Museum, with the understanding that, while it should be kept by Sir Frederick Madden in the strictest custody, it might yet be examined, under proper restrictions, by any and all literary persons who were anxious to do so. I at once seized the opportunity, and determined, avoiding all Shakspearian criticism, to attempt an accurate and unbiassed description of the volume from the literary point of view alone. Discoveries soon occurred, to which it seems advisable immediate publicity should be given, and which I now send you in as clear a manner as the narrow scope of a letter will permit.

The volume is bound in rough calf (probably about the middle of George II. s reign), the watermark of the leaves pasted inside the cover being a crown surmounting the letters "G. R." (*Georgius Rex*), and the Dutch lion within a paling, with the legend *pro patriâ*; ¹ and there is evidence to show that the corrections, though intended to resemble a hand of the middle of the seventeenth century, could not have been written on the margins of the volume until after it was bound, and consequently

¹ A correspondent in the *Morning Post* for July 5th, asserts that Mr. Hamilton has here committed a "blunder or misrepresentation," as this paper-mark belongs to (*Gulielmus Rex*) William III. I wonder it had never occurred to this correspondent to inquire when the paper duty was first imposed!

not, at the earliest, until towards the middle of the eighteenth.

I should enter more minutely into this feature of the case, did not the corrections themselves, when closely examined, furnish facts so precise and so startling in their character that all collateral and constructive evidence seems unnecessary and insignificant.

They at first sight seem to be of two kinds,—those, namely, which have been allowed to remain; and those which have been obliterated with more or less success, sometimes by erasure with a pen-knife or the employment of chemical agency, and sometimes by tearing and cutting away parts of the margin. The corrections thus variously obliterated are probably almost as numerous as those suffered to remain, and in importance equal to them. Whole lines, entire words, stage directions, have been attempted to be got rid of, though, in many instances, without success, as a glance at the various readings of a first portion of *Hamlet*, which I subjoin, will show.

Of the corrections allowed to stand, some, on a hasty glance, might, so far as the handwriting is concerned, pass as genuine, while others have been strangely tampered with, touched up, or painted over, a modern character being dexterously altered by touches of the pen into a more antique form. There is, moreover, a kind of exaggeration in the

shape of the letters throughout, difficult, if not impossible, to reconcile with a belief in the genuineness of the hand ; not to mention the frequent and strange juxtaposition of stiff Chaucery capital letters of the form in use two centuries ago with others of quite a modern appearance, and it is well here to state that all the corrections are evidently by one hand ; and that, consequently, whatever invalidates or destroys the credit of a part must be considered equally damaging and fatal to the whole.

At times the correction first put in the margin has been obliterated, and a second emendation substituted in its stead, of which I will mention two examples which occur in *Cymbeline* (fol. 1632, p. 400, col. 1) :—

With Oakes unshakeable and roaring Waters,
where *Oakes* has first been made into *Cliffes*, and subsequently into *Rockes*. Again (p. 401, col. 2),

Whose Roof's as low as ours : Sleepe Boyes, this gate,
on the margin (a pencil cross having been made in the first instance) *Sleepe* is corrected into *Sweete*, afterwards *Sweete* has been crossed out, and *Stoope* written above.

There is scarcely a single page throughout the volume in which these obliterations do not occur. At the time they were effected it is possible the obliteration may have appeared complete ; but the action of the atmosphere in the course of some years seems in the majority of instances to have so

far negatived the chemical agency as to enable the corrections to be readily deciphered. Examples of these accompany this letter, and I shall be surprised if in the hands of Shakspearian critics they do not furnish a clue to the real history of the corrector and his corrections.

I now come to the most astounding result of these investigations, in comparison with which all other facts concerning the corrected folio become insignificant. On a close examination of the margins they are found to be covered with an infinite number of faint pencil marks and corrections, in obedience to which the supposed Old Corrector has made his emendations. These pencil corrections have not even the pretence of antiquity in character or spelling, but are written in a bold hand of the present century. A remarkable instance occurs in *Richard III.* (fol. 1632, p. 181, col. 2), where the stage direction, "with the body," is written in pencil in a clear modern hand, while over this the ink corrector writes in the antique and smaller character, "with the dead bodie," the word "dead" being seemingly inserted to cover over the entire space occupied by the larger pencil writing, and "bodie" instead of "body" to give the requisite appearance of antiquity. Further on, in the tragedy of *Hamlet* (fol. 1632, p. 187, col. 1),

And crooke the pregnant Hindges of the knee,
"begging" occurs in pencil in the opposite margin

in the same modern hand, evidently with the intention of superseding "pregnant" in the text. The entire passage from, "Why should the poore be flatter'd?" to "As I do thee. Something too much of this," was afterwards struck out. The ink corrector, probably thrown off his guard by this, neglected to copy over and afterwards rub out the pencil alteration, according to his usual plan, and by this oversight we seem to obtain as clear a view of the *modus operandi* as if we had looked over the corrector's shoulder and seen the entire work in process of fabrication. I give several further instances where the modern pencil writing can be distinctly seen underneath the old ink correction, and I should add, that in parts of the volume page after page occurs in which commas, notes of admiration and interrogation, &c., are deleted, or inserted in obedience to pencil indications of precisely the same modern character and appearance as those employed in correcting the press at the present day. *Twelfth Night* (fol. 1632, p. 258, col. 1) :—"I take these Wisemen, that crow so at these set kind of fooles, no better than the fooles ~~Zanies~~." The corrector makes it "*to be* no better than," &c. Here the antique "*to be*" is written over a modern pencil "*to be*" still clearly legible. A few lines further down the letter *l* is added in the margin over a pencil *l*.

In *Hamlet* (fol. 1632, p. 278, col. 1) :—

Oh, most pernicious woman!

is made into—

Oh, most pernicious and perfidious woman!

but here, again the “perfidious” of the corrector can be seen to be above a pencil “perfidious” written in a perfectly modern hand.¹

In *Hamlet* (fol. 1632, p. 276, col. 2) the line

Looke too't, I charge you; come your way,

has been altered by the corrector into

Looke too't, I charge you; *so now* come your way,

in the inner margin. The words “so now,” in faint pencil and in a modern hand, on the outer margin, are distinctly visible. Immediately below this, and before

Enter Hamlet, Horatio, Marcellus,

the corrector has inserted “Sc. 4.” This would seem to have been done in obedience to a pencil “IV.” in the margin.

In *King John* (fol. 1632, p. 6, col. 2),

Austria and France shoot in each other's mouth.

The corrector adds, as a direction, at this line “aside”; the same word “aside” occurs likewise in pencil in a modern hand on the outer margin.

I have thus endeavoured to give in a dispassionate manner, and as clearly as the limited scope of a letter will admit, the grounds upon which I conceive it positively established that the emendations, as they are called, of this folio copy of *Shakspeare*

¹ See the facsimile prefixed to this work.

have been made in the margins within the present century. What further deductions may be drawn from the large mass of hitherto unpublished alterations which the folio contains, I leave others to determine. They may or may not be the means of identifying particular persons or particular dates, but in the main issue are comparatively unimportant.

While I am personally responsible for the conclusions I have been driven to by the discovery of the above-mentioned facts, the accuracy of the facts themselves, and the fidelity of my statement of them, have been carefully and scrupulously examined by men having greater ability and experience in such matters than I can lay claim to. Moreover, these are points which may be tested by any persons interested in the subject, and who will be at the pains of verifying for themselves the truth of what I have here advanced. I have only to add that I hope shortly to lay before the public, in another form and in fuller detail, other particulars relating to this remarkable volume.

I am, &c. N. E. S. A. HAMILTON.
Department of MSS., British Museum, June 22.

Several rejoinders were made to this letter, in the London papers, which do not merit notice here. In the *Times* of July 7, 1859, appeared the following letter from Mr. Collier:—

Sir,—I trust to your sense of justice, to say nothing of my ancient connection with your establishment (see especially the *Times* of the summer of 1819), for the insertion of this letter with as much prominence as you gave to that of Mr. Hamilton in your paper of July 2. As I live entirely in the country, and take in only a weekly publication, I did not see your paper containing that letter until an hour ago. I shall reply to it briefly and positively.

First, as to the pencillings in the corrected folio, 1632, which I accidentally discovered. I never made a single pencil mark on the pages of the book, excepting crosses, ticks, or lines, to direct my attention to particular emendations.¹ I have not seen it for four or five years, but I remember that on the board at the end (there was no fly-leaf there) I wrote various words, and made several notes, which I never attempted to erase. There they probably remain; and if the pencillings, of which Mr. Hamilton speaks, in the body of the volume were made by me, they may be compared with my writing on the last board, and by that writing I may be convicted, unless somebody, which I do not believe, have taken the pains to

¹ I ought to add, that I drew pencil lines round 18 additional facsimiles from the volume, admirably executed by Mr. Netherclift, copies of which I furnished to my friends, to enable them the better to judge of the general mass of emendations. (Mr. Collier.)

imitate my hand. What is clearly meant, though somewhat darkly expressed, is that I am the author both of the pencillings and of the notes in ink.

I have asserted the contrary on oath in an affidavit sworn and filed in the Queen's Bench, on Jan. 8, 1856. I assert the contrary now, and, if any person will give me the opportunity, I am ready to confirm it by my *vivâ voce* testimony, and to encounter the most minute, the most searching, and the most hostile examination.

I have shown and sworn that this very book was in the possession of a gentleman named Parry about half a century ago, given to him by a relation named George Gray. Mr. Parry recognized it instantly, annotated as it is now; and since it came into my hands, in 1849, I have not made the slightest addition to the notes in pencil or in ink.

Then, as to the binding. I contend that it is considerably older than the reign of George II., and that the date of the fly-leaf affords no criterion as to the date when the leather covering was put on, and for this reason, that fly-leaves are often added at a subsequent period for the protection of the title-page, because the original ones have been torn or destroyed. Upon my own shelves I have several distinct proofs of this fact, but I will only mention one. It is a copy of Samuel Daniel's *Panegyricke Congratulatory*, folio (1603), which the poet presented to the Countess of Pembroke; Daniel wrote

her name on the gilt vellum cover, and she put her signature on the title-page. It is likely that Daniel also placed an inscription on the fly-leaf, which has disappeared, perhaps to gratify the cupidity of some autograph collector. A comparatively modern substitute has been inserted ; it has no watermark, but a moment's inspection is enough to show that it was much posterior to the time when the book was printed.

The rough calf binding of the corrected folio, 1632, I contend is old ; it is the same as Lord Ellesmere's copy of the same edition ; the fly-leaf described by Mr. Hamilton is comparatively new ; but I have all along admitted, privately and in print, that the rough calf binding of the corrected folio, 1632, was the second or third coat the book had worn.

In the same way, as to imperfect erasures and alterations of emendations, denoting changes of mind or better information on the part of the maker of the old marginal notes, I have been as distinct and emphatic as anybody in both the editions of my volume of *Notes and Emendations* in 1852 and 1853. Mr. Hamilton can, I think, point out nothing that I have not anticipated.

Soon after I discovered the volume, and before I had written more than a letter or two in the *Athenæum* upon it, I produced it before the Council of the Shakspeare Society—at the general meeting

of that body—at two or three evening assemblies of the Society of Antiquaries; and, in order that it might not escape the severest scrutiny by daylight, I advertised that it would be left for a whole morning in the library of that society for the inspection of anybody who wished to examine it. I did not see Mr. Hamilton there, but no one who inspected it discovered, or at least pointed out, any of the pencil-marks which it seems are now visible.

I shall say nothing of the indisputable character of many of the emendations. The Rev. Mr. Dyce has declared, in his own handwriting, that “some of them are so admirable that they can hardly be conjectural,” and, in the course of his recent impressions of the works of Shakspeare, he has pronounced such as he unavoidably adopted, irresistible, indubitable, infallible, &c. All this I might have appropriated to myself; and, having burnt the corrected folio, 1632, I might have established for myself a brighter Shakspearian reputation than all the commentators put together. If, therefore, I have committed a fraud, it has been merely gratuitous. I certainly preferred a different course, in spite of the warning given me by a friend in the outset, that my enemies would never forgive my discovery, and that their hostility would outlive my existence.

I am determined not to make the poor remainder of my life miserable by further irritating contests;

this is the last word I shall ever submit to say upon the subject in print ; but if the matter be brought before a proper legal tribunal, I shall be prepared in every way to vindicate my integrity.

May I be allowed to add a word in answer to certain paragraphs stating that the late Duke of Devonshire gave me a large sum for my corrected folio 1632 ? It was a free gift on my part, frankly accepted by his Grace, although he afterwards (knowing of my family bereavements and consequent expenses) unsuccessfully endeavoured to persuade me to accept £250 for the volume. The Duke was at Chatsworth when I sent my letter to him, stating that the book was a poor return for the many essential and substantial favours I had received at his hands during a period of thirty years, and on June 20, 1853, his Grace wrote me a letter containing the following words :—

“ It is impossible for me to express how much I am gratified by your present, on which I shall place great value, not only for the merits and interest that accompany it, but as a proof of your enduring friendship and approbation.”

It is clear, therefore, that if without motive I imposed upon the public, I did not without conscience victimize the man to whom I was already so deeply indebted.

I am, &c., J. PAYNE COLLIER.
Riverside, Maidenhead, July 5.

Mr. Collier, in this very ill-advised letter, has committed himself to several strange statements.

1st. He admits that he drew pencil-lines round eighteen additional facsimiles from the volume, but denies that he ever made a single pencil-mark on the pages of the book, excepting crosses, ticks, or lines, to direct his attention to particular emendations. This is very precise: he made *crosses, ticks, lines* (including *lines* round the eighteen passages to be facsimilied), AND NOTHING ELSE. I have examined the passages referred to: each of them is indeed surrounded by a pencil-line; but, besides this, each is designated by a capital letter, apparently for the purpose of indicating the order in which the facsimiles were to be made. All these appear to be in the same hand that wrote, some in ink, some in pencil, the marginal emendations; for in some of these, capital letters occur formed in exactly the same manner, and, as to some capital letters, a very eccentric manner it is.

2nd. Mr. Collier admits that on the board at the end of the folio he wrote various words, and made several notes, which he never attempted to erase; and he challenges a comparison of the pencil-writing in the body of the folio with those notes. I have compared them; and must say candidly, that a comparison of the two, *if it can support a conclusion* (for inference from handwriting alone is always a doubtful matter), can lead to no other conclusion

than that one hand wrote both. Mr. Collier's suggestion (which he says that he himself does not believe), that the person that wrote the pencillings in the body of the folio, imitated Mr. Collier's hand, is as damnatory of the MS. notes *in ink*, as the other alternative would be; for inasmuch as the words in pencil lie in most cases (to some extent at least) under the same in ink, the latter must have been written since the scribe imitated Mr. Collier's hand in pencil: that is, the ink-notes must have been written since Mr. Collier wrote his notes on the back-board. Now, the ink-notes being written (to some extent at least) in a seventeenth-century hand, it follows that the hand must have been simulated by some one for purposes of deception. On either alternative, then, a fraud is proved; and were those of the Perkins emendations which are new, as unquestionably right as I believe the very great majority of them to be utterly wrong, there is still a fraud to be exposed; and whether its exposure involve the degradation of any one now alive or not, it is a duty which every Shakspearian critic owes to Shakspeare, and to his and our native tongue, to do the little that in him lies to "unfold what plighted cunning hides."

But 3rd. Mr. Collier says, that what Mr. Hamilton clearly means, though he somewhat darkly expresses it, is that he (Mr. Collier) is the author both of the pencillings and of the notes in ink;

whereas he (Mr. Collier) asserted the contrary, on oath in an affidavit sworn and filed in the Queen's Bench, on Jan. 8, 1856. Now, the fact is, that Mr. Collier's affidavit contains no such denial. What he did swear was, "that every note, correction, alteration, and emendation, in each of the said two editions [*i.e.*, of his *Notes and Emendations*], and every word, figure, and sign therein, purporting or professing to be a note, correction, alteration, or emendation of the text, is, to the best of my knowledge and belief, a true and accurate copy of the original manuscript in the said folio copy of 1632; and that I have not, in either of the said editions, to the best of my knowledge and belief, inserted a single word, stop, sign, note, correction, alteration, or emendation of the said original text of Shakespeare, which is not a faithful copy of the said original manuscript, and which I do believe to have been written, as aforesaid, not long after the publication of the said folio copy of the year 1632." Nor does his affidavit of the truth of the statements in the Preface and Introduction to *Notes and Emendations*, 1852 and 1853, supply the deficiency; for neither of those contains any denial of his having fabricated the ink or pencil notes of the Perkins folio. But, perhaps, Mr. Collier refers to the last clause in his affidavit. That simply denies the "statements and imputations" of *Literary Cookery*; and that publication does not impute to Mr. Collier

the authorship "both of the pencillings and of the notes in ink." But if, by implication, it may be supposed to impute to him the fabrication of the Perkins MS. notes, could Mr. Collier's denial thereof have been intended to apply to the pencil-notes underlying the seventeenth-century hand? It is observable that in his letter he does not state that he was not aware of the pencil-notes; we are, therefore, uncertain whether he knew of them or not. If however, knowing that they were there, he put forward the claim of antiquity for his folio notes in ink, I can only say his conduct was most disingenuous; but if, as he appears to imply, he was not aware of them, it is plain his denial of the imputations of *Literary Cookery* could not have been intended, and cannot be construed, to apply to them.

But further, Mr. Collier says, that he has shown and sworn that the Perkins folio was in the possession of a gentleman named Parry about half a century ago, and that it was given to him by a relation named George Gray: and he says that Mr. Parry recognized it instantly, annotated as it is now. Mr. Collier's statement that he swore to these alleged facts is simply untrue. The only part of the affidavit that can refer to Mr. Parry is the following:—"And I say, that all the statements in the said Preface and Introduction, relative to the discovery, contents, and authenticity of the said folio copy, &c., are true:" and it is noteworthy

that nowhere in the Preface or Introduction does Mr. Collier say that he showed the corrected folio to Mr. Parry. If, then, as appears to be the case, Mr. Collier has here, with his usual foresight, left himself "a loophole of retreat," why, then, he has merely made a mis-statement in his letter; whereas if he had really sworn to what he says he has, he must have perjured himself; for—1st, Mr. Parry never possessed the Perkins folio, either with or without its present annotations; 2nd, The only annotated folio Mr. Parry ever possessed, was a copy of the edition of 1623; 3rd, Mr. Parry never saw the Perkins folio in his life, until Sir Frederick Madden showed it him at the British Museum on the 13th of July last; and, 4th, All that Mr. Collier ever showed him was the facsimile prefixed to the *Notes and Emendations*.

But, whatever be the date of the writing of the MS. notes, it is of little moment to a man who swears as Mr. Collier does. Coleridge used to say that many so-called Christians do not believe in Christian doctrine; *they only believe that they believe*; Mr. Collier, who was and is a great admirer of the poet-philosopher, must have remembered this apothegm when he prepared his affidavit; for not only does he not swear that the MS. notes were written in the seventeenth century (which he would have been very foolish to have done), but he does not even swear that they were so written to

the best of his belief. No, he contents himself with swearing that *to the best of his belief, he believes* that they were so written (*vide* fourth paragraph of his affidavit filed in the Queen's Bench).

In the *Times* of July 16, 1859, appeared the following letters, the one from Mr. Maskelyne, the Keeper of the Mineral Department of the British Museum, and the other from Mr. Hamilton. The first is decisive of the fact that the pencil notes were made before the notes in ink.

Sir,—As it has been suggested to me that I should put on record some observations regarding the singular Shakspearian discovery recently made in the MSS. department here, I hope this letter will be sufficient explanation for my appearance on the scene in the discussion now going on regarding it.

There are three kinds of evidence that may be brought to bear on a literary forgery. The intrinsic literary character of the document is one of these. Another is of a palæological kind, and its value is to be estimated by the amount of experience and antiquarian erudition and skill of the critic. There is a third to which I would more particularly invite attention in this letter, and that rests on the physical scrutiny of the document by the aids which science has placed in our hands.

There is, indeed, another direction in which such an inquiry may be pursued, and which has to deal in circumstantial evidence, such as individual handwriting or the tracing of analogous documents into a single channel, or in other details highly interesting to the literary "detective," but not congenial to an officer of the British Museum. The officers, indeed, of a great national establishment like the Museum owe a duty to the public, and, in a certain sense, occupy a judicial position in questions like this under discussion. Thus, while our object is not to trace the hand in a forgery, it is our duty to denounce the forgery itself. It is in this spirit that I have approached the subject, and it is with the physical aspects of it alone that I have to deal.

Mr. Hamilton, a gentleman at the time only slightly known to me as an officer of this establishment, informed me some days since that the Duke of Devonshire had intrusted the far-famed Collier's *Shakspeare* to the hands of my colleague, Sir Frederick Madden, for the inspection of literary men; and Mr. Hamilton further informed me of the doubts which, after a careful scrutiny of the volume, had arisen in his mind regarding its genuineness. His reasons for these doubts he has since made public by his letter in the *Times*. On his mentioning the existence of a vast number of partially obliterated pencil-marks which seemed anticipatory of the ink "emendations" of the "Old

Commentator," I suggested the use of an instrument which has already done good service in an analogous case (that of the Simonides' Uranius)—the microscope. This simple test of the character of these emendations I brought to bear on them, and with the following results. Firstly, as to any question that might be raised concerning the presence of the pencil-marks asserted to be so plentifully distributed down the margin, the answer is, they are there. The microscope reveals the particles of plumbago in the hollows of the paper, and in no case that I have yet examined does it fail to bring this fact forward into incontrovertible reality. Secondly, the ink presents a rather singular aspect under the microscope. Its appearance in many cases on, rather than in, the paper, suggested the idea of its being a water-colour paint rather than an ink; it has a remarkable lustre, and the distribution of particles of colouring matter in it seems unlike that in inks, ancient or modern, that I have yet examined.

This view is somewhat confirmed by a taste, unlike the styptic taste of ordinary inks, which it imparts to the tongue, and by its substance evidently yielding to the action of damp. But on this point, as on another to which attention will presently be drawn, it was not possible to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion in the absence of the Duke of Devonshire's permission to make a few experiments on the volume.

His Grace visited the Museum yesterday, and was good enough to give me his consent to this. The result has been that the suspicions previously entertained regarding the ink were confirmed.

It proves to be a paint, removable, with the exception of a slight stain, by mere water, while, on the other hand, its colouring matter resists the action of chemical agents which rapidly change inks, ancient or modern, whose colour is due to iron. In some places, indeed, this paint seems to have become mixed, accidentally or otherwise, with ordinary ink, but its prevailing character is that of a paint formed perhaps of sepia, or of sepia mixed with a little Indian ink. This, however, is of secondary importance in comparison with the other point which has been alluded to. This point involves, indeed, the most important question that has arisen, and concerns the relative dates of the modern-looking pencil-marks and the old emendations of the text which are in ink. The pencil-marks are of different kinds. Some are *d's*, indicative of the deletion of stops or letters in the text, and to which alterations in ink, I believe, invariably respond. Others, again, belong to the various modes at present in use to indicate corrigenda for the press. Some may, perhaps, be the "crosses, ticks, or lines," which Mr. Collier introduced himself. But there are others again in which whole syllables or words in pencil are not so effectually rubbed out as not to be still

traceable and legible, and even the character of the handwriting discernible, while in near neighbourhood to them the same syllable or word is repeated in the paint-like ink before described. The pencil is in a modern-looking hand, the ink in a quaint antique-looking writing. In several cases, however, the ink word and the pencil word occupy the same ground in the margin, and are one over the other. The question that arises in these cases, of whether these two writings are both ancient or both modern, or one ancient and the other modern, is a question for the antiquary or palæographer. The question of whether the pencil is antecedent or subsequent to the ink is resolvable into a physical inquiry as to whether the ink overlies the pencil, or the pencil is superposed upon the ink. The answer to this question is as follows:—

I have nowhere been able to detect the pencil-mark clearly overlying the ink, though in several places the pencil stops abruptly at the ink, and in some seems to be just traceable through its translucent substance, while lacking there the generally metallic lustre of the plumbago. But the question is set at rest by the removal by water of the ink in instances where the ink and the pencil intersected each other. The first case I chose for this was a *u* in *Richard II.*, p. 36. A pencil tick crossed the *u*, intersecting each limb of that letter. The pencil was barely visible through the first stroke, and not

at all visible under the second stroke of the *u*. On damping off the ink in the first stroke, however, the pencil-mark became much plainer than before, and even when as much of the ink-stain as possible was removed, the pencil still runs through the ink line in unbroken even continuity. Had the pencil been superposed on the ink, it must have lain superficially upon its lustrous surface and have been removed in the washing. We must, I think, be led by this to the inference that the pencil underlies the ink—that is to say, was antecedent to it in its date; while, also, it is evident that the “old commentator” had done his best to rub out the pencil writing before he introduced its ink substitute.

Now, it is clear that evidence of this kind cannot by itself establish a forgery. It is on palæographical grounds alone that the modern character of the pencillings can be established; but, this point once determined in the affirmative, the result of the physical inquiry certainly will be to make this “old commentator” far less venerable.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

NEVILL STORY MASKELYNE,

Keeper of the Mineral Department.

Mineral Department, British Museum, July 13.

Sir,—When bringing before your notice, in my letter of June 22, various reasons which induced me to question the genuineness of Mr. Collier's annotated folio of 1632, I stated that my main ground for repudiating the authenticity of the supposed ancient corrections lay in the fact that, while they were made in an antique handwriting and spelling, having some resemblance to that used in the seventeenth century, they could be shown in numerous instances to be written sometimes by the side of, and sometimes actually upon the same space as, similar pencil emendations made on the margins in a modern hand, in a modern spelling, and, to the best of my belief, within the present century. Since writing that letter to you, I have deemed it my duty to go over a further portion of the volume with the greatest possible scrupulousness. The results at which I arrive are the same; and I am now prepared to say that what I then considered highly probable as to the spurious nature of the corrections is now, to my mind, absolutely certain. That in the great majority of instances, the crosses, ticks, and the literal and verbal emendations occurring in pencil throughout the volume, are intended to direct the ink corrections, is evident to every one who has examined the book with reference to that point. The instances in which I miss almost entirely the presence of pencil indications are where a whole line of text or a stage

direction is inserted; but here, from the obvious difficulty of rubbing out entire sentences, the annotator would naturally have avoided making his emendations first in pencil. In several cases where whole words are written in pencil, it is a suspicious circumstance that the pencil spelling is modern, while that of the ink is old—for instance, “body,” “offals,” in pencil; “bodie,” offalls,” in ink. The pencil-marks, which occur by hundreds, though naturally faint from having been partially rubbed out, are, nevertheless, visible and distinct; in some cases, indeed, have not been rubbed out at all. It is impossible to convey to the reader, without the aid of facsimiles, an exact idea of their perfectly current and modern form. I can only state that they appear to me clearly of this century, and, in fact, as if written but yesterday. Yet, that they were placed on the margins previously to the antique-looking ink corrections, which in many instances they actually underlie, has been proved by Mr. Maskelyne, keeper of the mineral department. Whatever, therefore, be the intrinsic worth we may attach to such of the suggestions as are not found elsewhere, they must strictly be regarded as coming before us in a hand not of the seventeenth, but of the nineteenth century, and judged of from that point of view alone.

In regard to the ink corrections it should be stated that, although at first sight they bear con-

siderable resemblance to the set Chancery hand of the seventeenth century, yet on a minute examination they will not readily support that character, their genuineness on palæographic grounds alone being very suspicious, not to say impossible; while the spurious character of the ink itself has been proved by Mr. Maskelyne.

One point alone remained, which it seemed absolutely impossible to reconcile with the belief that the corrections were of quite recent date; namely, the statement made in various publications by Mr. Collier, and also in his letter published in the *Times* on the 5th of the present month, that the volume and its corrections had been identified by its former possessor, Mr. Parry, as being in the same state as when in his hands half a century ago. "I have shown and sworn,"¹ Mr. Collier says in the letter above referred to, "that this very book was in the possession of a gentleman named Parry about half a century ago, given to him by a relation named George Gray. Mr. Parry recognized it instantly, annotated as it is now." Here, apparently, was positive evidence. But not so. A common friend of Mr. Collier and Mr. Parry, anxious to

¹ On referring to Mr. Collier's affidavit made in the Queen's Bench, Jan. 8, 1856, I do not find that he actually swore to the identification of the volume by Mr. Parry.—*H.*

But he swore to the truth of the statements in the Introduction, of which that is one.—*I.*

clear away the aspersions cast upon the folio, and to offer to the world a guarantee that the volume was in the same condition as to corrections at the present moment as when first in Mr. Parry's hands, requested that gentleman to go to the Museum and identify the volume. With this object Mr. Parry called upon Sir Frederick Madden on the morning of to-day (July 13). His surprise was hardly less than our own to find, on the volume being shown to him, that it differed in edition, in binding, in corrections—in fact, in every particular in which a book can differ—from the folio *Shakspeare* formerly in his possession, and which he expected to have placed before him.

Thus has the last testimony to the authenticity of this volume failed as completely and more remarkably than any of the preceding. If any one still thinks to maintain its integrity, it must clearly be on different or rather on opposite evidence to that hitherto adduced in its behalf. I forbear to comment on facts which I cannot elucidate, but the world will no doubt anxiously wish for explanations which the interests of literature seem imperiously to demand.

As it has been objected that my opinion in regard to the modern character of the cover and binding is incorrect, I think it right to state that I have since made inquiries on the subject, both of men intimately acquainted with large libraries, and also

of practical bookbinders. The reply I obtain from both entirely confirms my original statement. Rough sheep (not rough calf), such as this volume is bound in, is of late introduction, hardly reaching back to the first Georges, while the brown Bristol millboard which stiffens the cover is still more recent, a grey and softer kind of board having been employed till within the last hundred years.

Regarding the main question. I have nothing further to add; but before concluding I deem it my duty to notice two points in Mr. Collier's letter. In the first place, he says, "I never made a single pencil-mark on the pages of the book, excepting crosses, ticks, or lines, to direct my attention to particular emendations," whereas sentences and notes occur in Mr. Collier's handwriting throughout the margins. I build nothing on this beyond the reflection that a gentleman may in perfect good faith make statements contrary to fact, and which he would probably not have put forth if his recollection were more exact.

The second is the following assertion made by Mr. Collier in regard to my letter. He says,— "What is clearly meant, though somewhat darkly expressed, is that I am the author both of the pencillings and of the notes in ink." Now, I wish to say that I never "clearly meant" or "darkly expressed" anything of the kind. My statement was that I considered a literary deception had been

practised,—a belief which I still maintain to be borne out by facts, and which I see no reason to modify or abandon. There I am well content to leave a subject which I entered into, not in the spirit of a controversialist, still less as a personal accuser.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

N. E. S. A. HAMILTON.

Department of MSS., British Museum, July 13.

If Mr. Collier were in earnest in wishing to arrive at the truth respecting these MS. notes, I should expect from him some more efficient assistance than a denial in the *Times* of his complicity in their fabrication, and his very characteristic statement, that such denial *is the last word he will ever submit to say upon the subject in print*. He mistakes fact for “base insinuation,” and thinks to avoid the former by pretending to take offence at the latter, in a manner more characteristic of a sulky schoolboy than of a time-honoured man of letters.

Mr. Collier, however, did not keep his word. In the *Times* of July 19, 1859, appeared a second letter from him, which is as follows :—

Sir,—I feel most unwillingly compelled to say one other word respecting the corrected folio of

Shakspeare's works in 1632 [*sic*], which came into my hands in 1849.

According to Mr. Hamilton's letter, inserted in your paper of the 16th inst., Mr. Parry states that the book which he owned, and which was given to him by his relative, Mr. George Gray, about fifty years ago, was an edition different from the folio of 1632, with different corrections.

I saw Mr. Parry twice upon the subject in the year 1853—first at his house in St. John's Wood, when he told me (as he had previously told a common friend) that he had recognized the corrections instantly, from the facsimile which accompanied the the earliest edition of my *Notes and Emendations*, 8vo, 1852. Very soon afterwards, for greater satisfaction, I brought the corrected folio of 1632 from Maidenhead to London, and took it to St. John's Wood, but I failed to meet with Mr. Parry at home. I therefore paid a third visit to that gentleman, again carrying the book with me. I met him coming from his house, and I informed him that I had the corrected folio of 1632 under my arm, and that I was sorry he could not then examine it as I wished. He replied, "If you will let me see it now, I shall be able to state at once whether it was ever my book." I therefore showed it to him on the spot, and, after looking at it in several places, he gave it back to me with these words:—"That was my book, it is the same, but it has been much ill

used since it was in my possession." I took Mr. Parry's word without hesitation; and it certainly gave me increased faith in the emendations, to which I never applied a microscope or magnifying glass beyond my own spectacles. I was then living in the house of my brother-in-law; and almost from day to day, I showed him such of the emendations of Shakspeare's text in the corrected folio of 1632 as seemed most striking or important.

If there be upon the volume any pencillings by me beyond crosses, ticks, and lines, they will speak for themselves; they have escaped my recollection, and, as I stated in my former letter, I have not seen the book for several years. Perhaps the microscope used by Mr. Hamilton might discover that the plumbago of my pencil was the same as that of the marks, said to be in connection with some of the emendations.

J. PAYNE COLLIER.

Maidenhead, July 16.

Mr. Parry, I am told, denies most positively that Mr. Collier ever showed him the Perkins folio in the street, as alleged, or anywhere else.

As to this question of fact between Mr. Parry and Mr. Collier, I must leave those gentlemen to fight it out. It is not of much importance. Mr. Collier says well when he states that the pencil marks "will speak for themselves." They have spoken—pretty

loudly—and will doubtless speak again; and it is even possible that Mr. Hamilton's or Mr. Maske-lyne's microscope may ultimately be the means of verifying Mr. Collier's ironical prophecy.

Such is the present aspect of the questions, as to the fabrication and authorship of the Perkins MS. annotations. Those annotations, if genuine, might have been made by a son or pupil of Mr. T. Drant, a gentleman and a scholar who flourished before Shakspeare's time. How aptly might Mr. Perkins have introduced his celebrated notes to Shakspearian readers, in the words of Mr. Drant himself:—

“Fyrst I have done [with Shakespeare] as the people of god wer cōmanded to do with their captive women that were handsome and beautifull: I have shaved of his heare,¹ and pared of his nayles (that is) I have wyped awaye all his vanitie and superfluitie of matter. . . . Further, I have interfarced (to remove his obscuritie, and sometymes to better his matter) much of myne owne devysinge; I have peececd his reason, eekede, and mended his similitudes, mollyfied his hardnes, prolonged his cortall kynd of speches, changed, and much altered his wordes, but not his sentence: or at leaste (I dare say) not his purpose. For shorte if thou canste

¹ Here is an instance of the obsolete spelling of *hair*, alluded to at p. 4.

credit me, do so. If not aske counsaile at his interpreters; and if some thinge shall seeme to the straunglye, or not reasonablye done thou shalst finde (I am sewer) that it came so to passe not upon negligence but judgemente." (Drant's Horace's *Satyres*, 1566. To the Reader.) But unfortunately the external evidences, so far from confirming the suggestion that Messrs. Drant and Perkins were contemporaries, indisputably prove that the MS. notes of the Perkins folio are very modern fabrications, written in artificial inks, in a simulated hand, over the same words in pencil—the latter being in the handwriting of some one who wrote *exactly* like Mr. Collier. Nothing further is needed to show that a monstrous fraud has been, by some one, palmed off upon the ignorance and credulity of the Shakspearian public of our times.



APPENDIX I.

W. H. IRELAND'S CONFESSIONS:

THE Ireland Forgeries present one of the most curious and audacious attempts to impose on the credulity and veneration of the bibliographical public that the world has ever seen. One object seems to have prompted the deception: viz., the love of money: and this seems alike to have been at the root of the Forgeries, the *Authentic Account*, the *Vindication*, and the *Confessions*, as well as of all other acts of that remarkable family, the "Irelands." The year 1796 was that in which the forgeries were first exhibited, and the *Authentic Account* was published; and the same year the bubble burst. Mr. [Samuel] Ireland's *Vindication of his Conduct* (a pamphlet which deserves the most painstaking perusal) appeared the same year; and *W. H. Ireland's Confessions* were published in 1805, the substance of them forming the preface to *Vortigern and Rowena*, 2nd ed., 1832.

The object of the *Vindication* was to exonerate

Samuel Ireland from all knowledge of, or participation in, the forgery. Yet the whole confession—or at least the substance of it—was itself a fabrication, Samuel Ireland being the original concocter of the whole scheme of deception, and the person who himself forged several of the signatures, &c. The *Confessions of W. H. Ireland* were published with the professed object of making a clean breast of it. He professed that he alone was answerable for the forgeries; and he writes, that not only was his father “a total stranger to every proceeding of mine, as regarded the composition of the papers; but from principle totally incapable of having even connived, much less have been himself the fabricator. There existed in my father’s character, a marked tenacity respecting adherence to truth; and it was the thorough knowledge of his rigid principles on that head that long deterred me from making an ample confession of the fact, so much did I apprehend from the effects of his indignation, if made acquainted with the real nature of the whole transaction.” Yet this man of scrupulous truth positively trained his whole family to trade in forgery. He himself was the general who devised and methodised the strategy, and executed the simulated handwriting: W. H. Ireland’s “duty” was merely that of amanuensis and copier for his excellent parent: the elder daughter of Samuel Ireland wrote the imitations of the dramatist, *Vor-*

tigern and Rowena, &c., while her younger sister was her assistant. The house of the Irelands was, in fact, a manufactory of forgeries, done for the sole object of making money.

Nor did Samuel Ireland confine himself to Shakspeare. His *Graphic Illustrations of Hogarth* (1799) teems with spurious vignettes and sketches. Everything he touched was contaminated by his leasing.

W. H. Ireland was the son of his own father. He was, perhaps, the most accomplished liar that ever lived. At the date of the appearance of *Vortigern and Rowena*, William Henry was engaged as a lawyer's clerk in New Inn. His salary was very meagre, and his principal object in publishing *Vortigern and Rowena* was gain. At this period, an actor, a friend to the family, prevailed upon his elder sister to try her luck on the stage. She followed the advice, but failed. When concealment was no longer possible, the *Authentic Account* and *Confessions* were published to raise the wind. These are a tissue of lies. William Henry always made double capital out of a confession, by leaving room for a confession of the falsity of a confession. As soon as the bubble had burst, and the *Authentic Account* had found believers, W. H. Ireland forged his father's forgeries, and sold or gave away to friends, his duplicates! One of these was presented by him to his friend W. Moncrieff, the dramatist.

The volume is now in the possession of Dr. Mackay, the poet. It contains, besides the MS. forgeries, a portrait of Moncrieff, and of the two sisters of William Henry Ireland. Another volume of the forgeries is in the British Museum, and a third duplicate was sold for a large sum at Mr. Dent's sale.¹

On the occasion of William Henry's funeral, at which my informant was present, a woman made her appearance at the grave, and gave the mourners to understand that the object of their grief was the father of four children by her, and that William Henry had deceived her, as he had done every body else. It seems he had been living with this woman unknown to his family. The gentleman who furnished these facts was an intimate acquaintance of the Irelands; and to him William Henry made the last confession of the falsity of his published *Confessions*. My informant was the writer of a note on this subject in *Willis' Current Notes* for Dec.,

¹ It has been surmised that George Steevens was implicated in the Ireland forgeries. This I do not believe. It is more probable that John Jordan, the Stratford Guide (whose friend S. Ireland was) was an assistant, especially in the department of dramatic composition. Though, a man of low habits, he was thoroughly versed in Shakspeare, and himself wrote poetry. That he was capable of a forgery, is proved by the fact that he imposed on Malone a fabricated vignette of the house which Shakspeare built at Stratford, and which was published in Malone's edition, and has been since copied into Mr. Knight's Pictorial Edition.

1855. He there volunteered further particulars ; but subsequently declined giving them, on the ground that the subject was too painful a one. In this shocking case, the *de mortuo verum* is too vile for publicity.





APPENDIX II.

NOTE A.

THE CURULE CHAIR OF CORIOLANUS.

First he was
A noble servant to them ; but he could not
Carry his honours even : whether 'twas pride,
Which out of daily fortune ever taints
The happy man ; whether defect of judgment,
To fail in the disposing of those chances
Which he was lord of ; or whether nature,
Not to be other than one thing, not moving
From the casque to the cushion, but commanding peace
Even with the same austerity and garb
As he controll'd the war ; but, one of these,
(As he hath spices of them all, not all,
For I dare so far free him,) made him fear'd,
So hated, and so banish'd : but he has a merit,
To choke it in the utterance. So *our virtue*
Lie in the interpretation of the time :
And power, unto itself most commendable,
Hath not a tomb so evident as a chair
To extol what it hath done.

Coriolanus, act iv. sc. 7.

I give the greater part of Aufidius' speech, because it is impossible to judge of the sense of the

last five lines, but by a careful study of the context. I am not aware that any editor or commentator has ever proposed to change a single word of this concluding passage, with the exceptions of Mr. Thomas Perkins and the late Mr. Singer. The former, as we have seen, reads—

So our *virtues*
Live in the interpretation of the time,
 And power *in* itself most commendable,
 Hath not a tomb so evident as a *cheer*
 To extol what it hath done.

Mr. Singer would read—

So our *virtues*
 Lie in the interpretation of the time,
 And power unto itself most commendable,
 Hath not a tomb, so evident as a *hair*,
 To extol what it hath done.

Mr. Singer's reading rests on a mistake. He failed to perceive the association between "chair" and "to extol." "A chair to extol" &c., is plainly the consular chair which was the reward of public virtues. Even Mr. Perkins did not make this mistake. "A cheer to extol" &c. is sense, only it is a phrase of very modern growth.

Warburton's and Malone's notes on the original passage are mere blunders. Steevens remarks—"The passage before us, and the comments upon it, are, to me at least, equally unintelligible."

On the original text I would call attention to the fact that "to move from the casque to the cushion,"

means, as Johnson said, to change the soldier's life for the consul's. The *cushion* is but a symbolical phrase for the dignity to which Coriolanus aspired and attained. Similarly the "chair," which was the reward of his public services, means the *sella curulis*, or chair of state in which the consuls, pretors, &c., sat.

In 1853, when A. E. B. first communicated to myself, and, I believe, to many others, the test-proof of recent phraseology presented in the use, by the "Old Corrector," of "*a cheer*" in its most modern sense, as a substitute for "a chair" in Coriolanus, he accompanied it by some remarks upon the self-evident blindness and want of sagacity evinced by the corrector in not perceiving that "chair" *must* be a true word, and that no other would fit the place so well.

In the passage in question, Aufidius is moralizing upon the variableness and fickleness of popular opinion, which reverses its doom with the same unreasoning facility with which it pronounced it.

What, then, but the extremity of blindness and ignorance, would attempt to alter "chair" in the fourth line to *cheer*, as was done by the "Old Corrector"? At the very first glance the apposition of *chair* and *power* brings to mind the line in the Magnificat:—

Deposuit potentes de sede et exaltavit humiles.

Then, the obvious antithesis of *the chair* of power,

becoming *the tomb* of greatness! And, lastly, the declared object of the chair, *viz.*, to extol the deeds of the person raised to it! Not one of these analogies will in the least apply to the stupid substitution of the "Old Corrector," even if it were not self-convicted by the palpably modern sense in which *a cheer to extol* is attempted to be used.

A. E. B. has further communicated to me the following, as his view of the whole passage, arising from a very close study of it, consequent upon his investigation of this pseudo-correction.

In the first line of the original, as already quoted, there is a false concord—"So our virtue lie," which is invariably corrected by adding an *s* to "virtue,"

So our virtues lie.

But it may also be corrected by applying the *s* to lie—

So our virtue lies.

Hence there are two choices having nearly equal claims to correctness, although the last, or that not generally adopted, is perhaps preferable on the score of generality. But A. E. B. approves of neither: he says that an alteration of some kind being unavoidable, a much finer and more probable reading may be obtained by changing *our* into *doth*—

So doth virtue

Lie in the interpretation of the time;
And *power*, unto itself most commendable,
Hath not a tomb so evident as a chair
T' extol what it hath done.

Here, by taking away the particularizing “our,” we give to *virtue* the same generality of expression as *power* has in the third line, thus assimilating both; and, at the same time, we do away with all necessity for a change in the concord of either noun or verb. He also explains the expression,—

power, unto itself most commendable,

to mean power commended and lauded *while in progress of attainment*, but decried when arrived *unto itself*—that is, when arrived at full possession.

NOTE B.

GERTRUDE'S SHOES OF GRIEF.

A little month; or e'er these *shoes* were old,
 With which she follow'd my poor father's body,
 Like Niobe, all tears;—why she, even she,—
 (O heaven! a beast, that wants discourse of reason,
 Would have mourn'd longer,) married, &c.

Hamlet, act i. sc. 2.

This is the received text, corrected in one particular, viz., by writing “e'er,” for *ere* of the early quartos; for the almost obsolete “or,” and the modern “ere” (=before) are but two forms of the same word; whereas *ere* in the quartos is the contracted form of *ever*.

The variations of the old copies are unimportant, except that in the first and some of the later

quartos, "shoes" is spelt *shooes*, and that the first quarto reads, *the which* instead of "with which." The integrity of the text has never been questioned; and except a passage in Voltaire, in which he takes offence at the vulgar familiarity of Hamlet, in alluding to his mother's *shoes*, I have, after a diligent search, failed to discover a single note in extenuation, explanation, illustration, or emendation, of what appears to me a singular incongruity. I can hardly conceive that any intelligent reader of the passage and context can fail to be conscious of a halt in the first two lines, and to suspect that the hitch is, not, as the French critic says, in the vulgar familiarity of the allusion, but in the inappropriateness and incongruity of Hamlet, making the antiquity or the "wear and tear" of his mother's shoes the measure of her sorrow, or at least of her sense of decency. I ask with Theobald, on a kindred passage in *King John*, "Why her shoes, in the name of propriety?" for let them be as black as they may, I suppose she did not put them into mourning. The recollection of Theobald's suggestion of *shows*, for "shoes," in the line,—

As great Alcides' shoes upon an ass,

first led me, in the year 1855, to throw out the same suggestion for emendating, or, at least, explaining the line in *Hamlet*. I published a defence of that suggestion in *Notes and Queries* (2nd Series, vol. i. p.88) for Feb.2, 1856. Maturity of judgment

has only served to satisfy me that, though no editor has yet adopted the change, it must sooner or later receive universal approval. Mr. Hunter is inclined to adopt *moods* of the second folio, *vice* "modes," in a preceding passage of the same scene, and to distinguish between the "forms, moods, shows of grief," thus:—

Forms, including habits exterior.

Moods, the musing of the melancholy mind, occasionally and partially appearing.

Shows of grief, mourning apparel.

New Illustrations, ii. 216 : 1845.

This threefold division, I think, recommends itself strongly to our acceptance. In point of fact Hamlet himself gives us the definition of "shows of grief," viz., "the trappings and the suits of woe;" and he says that he has "that within, which passeth *show*;" his sorrow was such as no mourning apparel could truly denote. Comparing the passage in which these expressions occur with that which I have taken as text, what I ask, are the *shows* with which Gertrude followed her husband's corse to the grave, but "customary suits of solemn black"? What were her Niobe's tears but "the fruitful river in the eye"? What were these twain, but "*forms* and *shows* of grief"? That there would be no incongruity in applying the epithet "old" to these "shows," is evident from the fact that "shows" here has its secondary sense of *symbolical*

apparel; or otherwise, a passage in *Love's Labour's Lost*, act i. sc. 1, might justify the attribute,—

At Christmas I no more desire a rose,
Than wish a snow in May's *new-fangled shows*.

Accordingly I paraphrase the text thus :—

Before my mother's "mourning-weeds" (2 Hen. VI.) were worn (or worn out), she doffed them for the wedding-gear. Oh! most wicked speed, &c.

Accordingly I regulate the passage thus :—

A little month; or e'er those shows were old,
With which she followed my poor father's body,
Like Niobe, all tears; &c.

The frequent repetition of a word in the same play is a peculiarity of Shakspeare. Thus, we have "hest" repeated many times in the *Tempest*; "father" or "mother," used in a symbolical sense, several times in *Cymbeline*; "comfort," in the sense of *strengthen*, several times in *Winter's Tale*, &c. &c.; and similarly, we have "shows," in the sense of *symbolical apparel*, several times in *Hamlet*.

The change I advocate in the first line of the text is indeed very slight; and yet I am not sure that I should be correct in designating "shoes" a misprint for *shows*. Is it not rather merely an obsolete form of spelling *shows*? William Warner, whose *Albion's England* was published in 1586, writes, in Book iii. Chap. 17, of that work,—

But what! shall Cæsar doubt to fight against so brave a foe?
No! Cæsar's triumphs, with their spoils, will make the greater
shoe.

Here the spelling of *shoe* is conformed to that of many words of the same sound, such as *foe*, *woe*, *toe*. Or, to take an earlier example, we read in Drant's Horace's *Satyres*, 1566 (sheet F 1),—

But blamed those, whiche outwardly
Doo geve a shynnyng *shoe*,
And inwardly are chargde with synne,
That unnethes they can goe.

But *shoe* (for the foot) also had the same pronunciation; thus, in Drayton's 1st *Nymphal*,—

Had I that foot hid in those shoes
Proportioned to my height
Short heel, thin instep, even toes
A sole so wondrous straight.

The following extract from Michael Drayton's *Elegy on Lady Clifton* (1608) affords an exact parallel to the passage I have explained.

——Silken puppets——
Whose memory shall from the earth decay,
Before those rags were worn they gave array.

“Before those rags were worn,” is a singularly exact equivalent for “Or e’er those shows were old”; especially so, as occurring in an *Elegy* on a person recently deceased.¹

I need scarcely apologise for the length of this note; for I am more and more convinced that those

¹ I am indebted to A.E.B. for having had my attention called to the two passages from Drayton, and that from W. Warner.

emendations which strike at first sight, and are therefore called “self-convincing,” are generally very suspicious customers, and that a really sound emendation often requires vast study and considerable reading for its reception.

Besides the desire I naturally feel to establish my right to one really sound emendation of Shakespeare’s text (in itself no slight honour), I was prompted to give this note, as affording a remarkable parallel to Mr. Dyce’s note on the line,—

This unheard sauciness and boyish troops.

“Shoes” and “unheard” are but obsolete forms of *shows* and *unhair’d*; though the uninformed would regard the substitution of the latter words for the former as an unauthorized alteration of the old text.

NOTE C.

“FALL,” AND “FAIL.”

A critic, in the *Athenæum* for May 26, 1859, reviewing Elze’s edition of *Hamlet*, remarks, in the full Collier-and-Perkins spirit, upon the passage—

Our indiscretion sometimes serves us well,
When our deep plots do pall,

as follows:—“This is the old text, but is ‘pall’ right? We think not; and the expression ‘When our deep plots do *pall*’ is hardly English; the

folio 1623 reads ‘When our *deare* plots do paule.’ The quarto 1604 has ‘deep plots do pall’; but in the other quartos, ‘pall’ is altered to *fall*, which last gives us a glimpse of what we think must have been the poet’s word: viz., *fail*, as indeed it stands corrected in the much-talked-of folio 1632. Mr. Elze, therefore, prints as follows:—

Our indiscretion sometimes serves us well,
When our deep plots do fail.

‘Fail’ is the natural and proper word for the occasion, and *faile* (as it must have stood in the MS.) was misprinted *paule* in the folio 1623; and hence the word that has since been universally misrepresented as the language of Shakspeare.”

But how came “the other quartos” to print the word *fall*? It is highly improbable they would have done so if *fall* had not at least afforded a good sense to the ears of the compositor and proof-corrector.

Now the fact is, that *fall* had in Shakspeare’s day the same meaning as “fail”; and, consequently, *fall* is the word that ought to replace “pall.”

I append three examples—two from Shakspeare himself:—

I to the world am like a drop of water,
That in the ocean seeks another drop,
Who *falling* there to find his fellow forth,
Unseen, inquisitive, confounds himself.

Comedy of Errors, act i. sc. 2.

Mr. Barron Field suspected, that in this passage, "falling" was a misprint for *failing* (*Shakspeare Society Papers*, vol. iii. p. 132). But he was in error.

London, you say, is safely look'd unto,
Alas, poor rebels, there your aid must *fall*.

Sir John Oldcastle.

As the verb "fall" was used in the sense of *fail*, so the substantive "fall" had the sense of *fault*: thus, in the *Merry Wives of Windsor*, act i. sc. 1, Evans says:—

It is a fery discretion answer; save the *fall* is in the 'ort dissolutely.

Here "fall" is the reading of the folios; and it has been erroneously altered by all modern editors to *fault*.

THE END.

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